

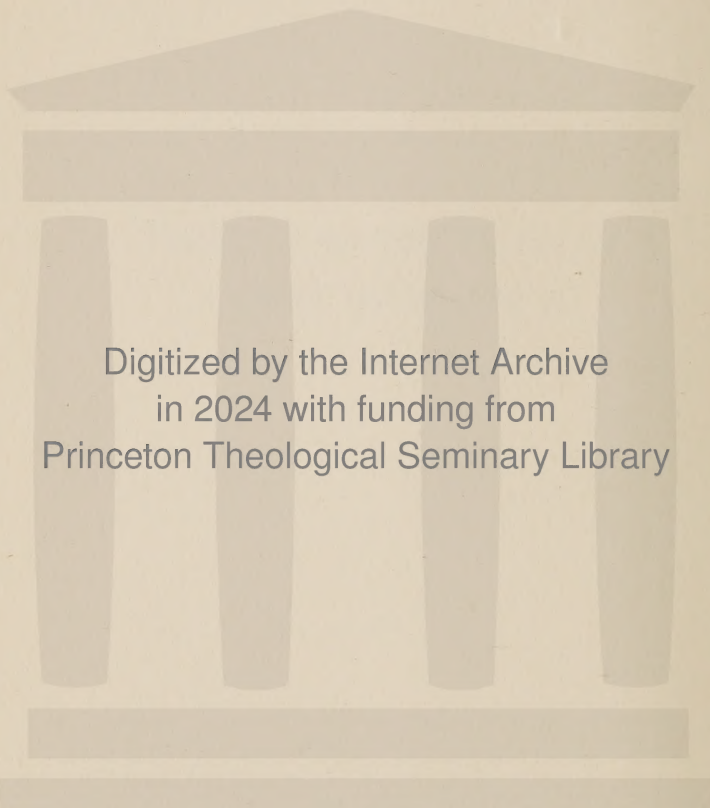
Library of The Theological Seminary

PRINCETON • NEW JERSEY



PURCHASED BY THE
MRS. ROBERT LENOX KENNEDY
CHURCH HISTORY FUND

Paul
BX 4700 .F34 M32 1938
McCann, Paul, 1909-
A valiant bishop against a
ruthless king



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

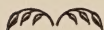


Saint John Cardinal Fisher — from the chalk drawing by Holbein in Windsor Castle, made about the year 1527. The only authentic likeness in existence.

A VALIANT BISHOP
AGAINST
A RUTHLESS KING

The Life of St. John Fisher

By PAUL McCANN



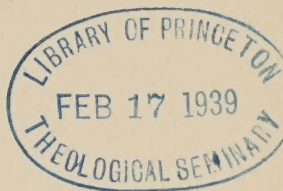
B. HERDER BOOK CO.

15 & 17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

AND

33 QUEEN SQUARE, LONDON, W. C.

1938



ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Printed in U. S. A.

NIHIL OBSTAT

Sti. Ludovici, die 13. Dec., 1937,

F. J. Holweck,

Censor Librorum

IMPRIMATUR

Sti. Ludovici, die 14. Dec., 1937,

✠ Joannes J. Glenmon,

Archiepiscopus

Copyright 1938

B. HERDER BOOK CO.

Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., Binghamton and New York

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO
MY MOTHER AND THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. STUDENT DAYS OF PROMISE	I
II. FISHER AS A PRIEST AND SCHOLAR	15
III. FISHER AS BISHOP OF ROCHESTER	24
IV. THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY VIII AND CATH- ERINE	39
V. DEAN COLET'S FIERY SERMON AT ST. PAUL'S	48
VI. CARDINAL WOLSEY	56
VII. DEFENDER OF THE FAITH	78
VIII. WOLSEY'S AMBITION	93
IX. EMPEROR CHARLES V	113
X. THE QUESTION OF HENRY'S DIVORCE.	121
XI. THE DIVORCE TRIAL	144
XII. HENRY VIII AS HEAD OF THE CHURCH	179
XIII. HENRY'S MARRIAGE TO ANNE BOLEYN	190
XIV. THE CHARGE OF MISPRISION OF TREASON.	197
XV. FISHER AND MORE IN PRISON	221

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVI. FISHER CREATED A CARDINAL	232
XVII. FISHER AND MORE CONVICTED OF TREASON	242
XVIII. THE MARTYRDOM OF FISHER AND MORE	252
INDEX	267

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Saint John Cardinal Fisher *Frontispiece*

	FACING PAGE
Pembroke College.	7
Entrance Gateway to Trinity College	15
Trinity Hall	23
Interior of the Hall, Trinity College	30
Catharine of Aragon	39
Christ's College	47
John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's	55
Second Court of St. John's College	63
Pope Leo X.	71
Jesus College	79
Pope Adrian VI	95
Thomas More Rebuffs Cardinal Wolsey	103
Emperor Charles the Fifth	118
Archbishop William Warham	127

	FACING PAGE
Pope Clement VII.	142
Cardinal Campeggio	151
The Trial of Catherine of Aragon	159
Hamond's Map of Cambridge	174
Ancient Map of Cambridge University.	183
Sir Thomas More.	191
Princess Mary	215
Gate of Entrance, St. John's College	231
Bust of Bishop Fisher.	246
View of Cambridge University	263

CHAPTER I

STUDENT DAYS OF PROMISE

THE LEAVES were falling from the trees, while a gust of wind blew them in all directions. The sun was descending in the west, casting its final rays for the day in a golden purple over the cozy and beautiful homes in the ancient capital and minster town of Beverley, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, England. It was late autumn of the year of our Lord 1459, and just the faintest touch of chill was in the air.

A few of the more wealthy residents of Beverley had fires started in their open fireplaces, and a bluish smoke, tinted by the golden twilight rays, was rising like incense smoke to the illumined skies above. The red and brown leaves covered the ground, and little children romped with their dogs in piles of leaves they had raked together for tumbling purposes. The sound of the children's laughter mingled with the joyous yelping of the dogs, and the air was fragrant with a certain happiness that caused the farmers coming in from the fields at the edge of the town, and the tradesmen and shoppers going home for their evening meal, to smile contentedly and

to consider the world, at least their part of it, a very good place in which to live.

The people were prosperous according to the standard of the fifteenth century. Although the war was still being waged between the Red Rose House of Lancaster and the White Rose House of York, most of the English tradespeople and farmers went about their various occupations singularly unconcerned as to which House would rule England. Trade was good in Yorkshire, and the wages, though meager, were sufficient to provide good food and clothing. So, as Englishmen and Catholics, the people of Beverley lived contented lives.

All was well for the birth of a saint. The joy of the children and grown-ups, the beauty of the town, were all a fitting setting for the birth of John Fisher in his father's house.

All day long Robert Fisher had paced the floor of his sitting-room, waiting and praying that his wife would come through the travails of childbirth successfully. A midwife was attending his wife Agnes in her bedroom. Then suddenly, as the setting sun gave forth its final burst of brilliance, showering sparks of royalty and grace, Robert Fisher heard the cry of the new-born baby in the room above him. He rushed to his wife, and saw her, exhausted but happy, with an infant son at her side.

The child thus born amid Christian surroundings, of Catholic parents, and with two brothers and a sister who would be as religious as himself, was baptized John. John Fisher was to become the sixteenth century's great-

est fisher of men in England; he would suffer many of the ignominies that Christ had suffered, for "the servant is not greater than his Lord; neither is the apostle greater than He that sent him." And John Fisher would be put to death by beheading, even as the Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul, whom John greatly loved and venerated, knowing well what was meant by the psalmist's words, "In the head of the book it is written of me that I should do Thy will, O God."

Developing as a healthy and robust child, John Fisher had no sooner learned to know and love his father than death came and took Robert Fisher away. John was eight years old when this happened, and it was his first major sorrow, one from which he did not recover for a long time, even after his mother, Agnes, had married again and by her second husband had three sons and a daughter, all of whom John learned to love as true brothers and sister. This sister by his mother's second marriage, Elizabeth White, became a Dominican nun in the Dartford Monastery in Rochester when John Fisher himself was bishop of that diocese. Although his brothers and half-brothers and his sister and half-sister would make life merry for John, he never quite forgot those first two joys of his life: gazing into his mother's eyes, and sitting on his father's knee.

Thirst for knowledge gave John's mind the proper incentive for intellectual growth. As a boy of twelve, he attended school in a one-room cottage, with white-washed sides and green trellises covered with roses in

June and with ivy in the fall. This boys' school was connected with the collegiate church of St. John in Beverley. Under the tutelage of a "poor scholar" who had received his bachelor's degree from the University of Cambridge and whose salary as local schoolmaster would enable him to pay his tuition for his master's degree in the University at some future date, John Fisher learned to read and write fluently in English and French. From the parish priest, John received his first lessons in Latin and religion.

So fine was the local priest's example that John Fisher made up his mind to stay in Beverley and there prepare for the priesthood. After studying theology and Sacred Scripture for several years, by the time he was twenty-four years old John Fisher was ready to be ordained a priest. But in that year 1483, for some reason unknown to us, he was undecided about becoming a priest. Therefore he went to Cambridge University and there continued his studies.

He was one of the most brilliant students at the University, being commended by his professors at almost every one of his disputations and oral examinations. In 1487 he received his degree of bachelor of arts. Supported by a tutoring scholarship, he continued at the University and received the degree of master of arts four years later.

Those years as a tutor-student were some of the happiest of his life. He liked to go for long walks out into the forests and to study the birds and animals as well

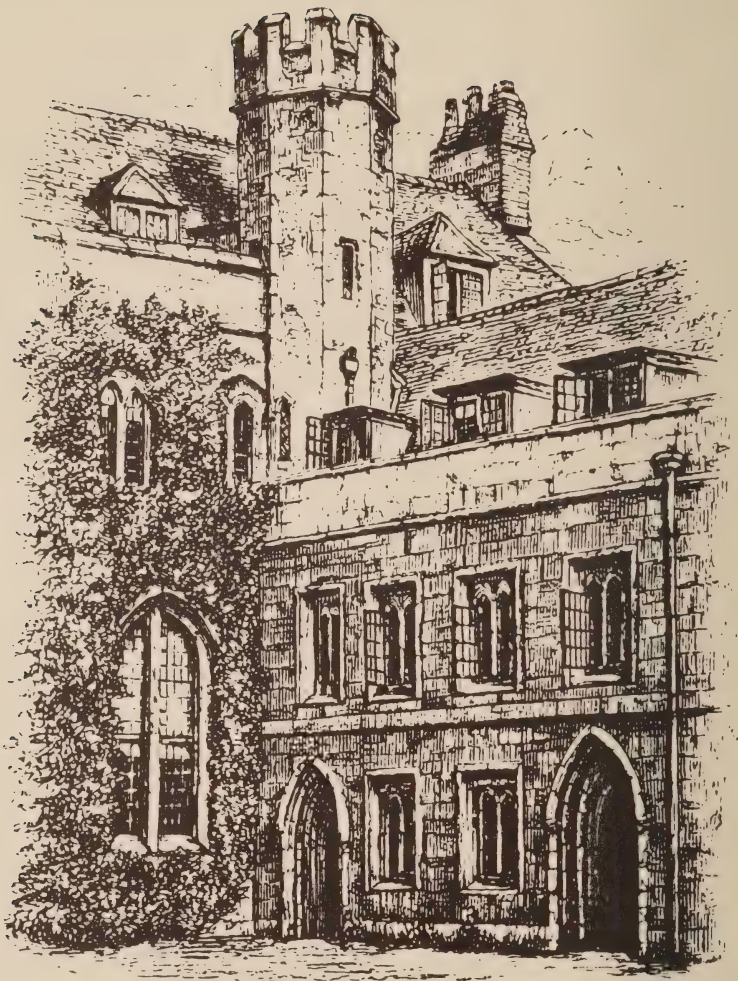
as ponder the lectures of the day. He had developed into a strong, tall young man, with a high forehead and keen, intelligent eyes. Though possessing an affable disposition, he never told a lie or committed sin to hold a so-called friend. Needless to add, then, the best students at the University were his friends; but the more boisterous bands of rowdies, who even at that time invaded the campus, thought Fisher a queer person and a rigorist.

In 1495 he was awarded a fellowship by the University and from then on rose rapidly in the scholastic world. The next year he was appointed proctor; and in 1497 he became master of Michael House at the University. By that time he had acquired fluent knowledge of other languages besides Latin and French and was a master of theology and Scholastic philosophy. He was recognized throughout England as a scholar of highest rank; but unfortunately, since both English universities, Cambridge and Oxford, lacked financial endowment, they suffered in scholastic prestige as compared with other universities in Europe. Hence Fisher's scholarship was an isolated glory. Fisher himself knew that the English universities were not at this time the equal of such great institutions as the University of Louvain, the University of Paris, the University of Bologna, the University of Milan, and the University of Florence. In two ways in particular, the English universities were behind their contemporaries: Hebrew was taught on the Continent but not in England at this time, and the study of Scripture was declining in England while growing

in the rest of Europe. John Fisher knew that a decline in Scriptural study boded no good for the morals or temperament of England and he did everything he could to enhance its value in the eyes of his students. He constantly kept at hand a copy of *The Following of Christ* as originally composed by Groote and corrected and published by Thomas à Kempis. From it he frequently quoted passages of advantage to his friends and students, telling them their faults and good points and urging them to win the grace of God and to continue in that happy state.

As Fisher continued reading and quoting from *The Following of Christ*, his mind turned again and again to thoughts of the priesthood. Despite his success as a professor and scholar, he was aware of the call to become a priest. One of his favorite passages was: "Oh, how great is the office of priests to whom it is given with sacred words to consecrate the Lord of majesty: with their lips to bless, with their hands to hold, with their own mouth to receive and also to administer to others! Oh, how clean ought those hands to be, how pure that mouth, how holy that body, how unspotted that heart, where the Author of purity so often enters!

"Nothing but what is holy, no word but what is good and profitable ought to proceed from the mouth of him who so often receives this sacrament of Christ. Simple and chaste should be those eyes that are wont to behold the body of Christ: the hands should be pure and lifted up to heaven that touch the Creator of heaven and earth.



Pembroke College. Stair Turret between the old Lodge and the Hall. Now destroyed. This copy of an old sketch shows well how the ivy grew on the colleges at the University of Cambridge.

Unto the priest especially is it said in the law: be you holy, for I the Lord your God am holy."

Still, the priests of his time were not as holy and upright as the Cambridge scholar wished. They seemed to forget à Kempis' warning: "Habit and tonsure profit little; but change of heart and perfect mortification of the passions make a true monk." There was venality and there was simony rampant throughout England as well as throughout the continent of Europe. England had as bad a repute in this regard as had Germany, and Germany was but second to Rome. Rome, of course, being the center of Christendom, had more benefices to dispose of; and even at Rome certain avaricious prelates dared to sell the things that belonged to God.

In the quiet of evening, John Fisher, sitting in his high-back chair in his study at Cambridge University, close to the open window, pondered these things in his mind. With his right elbow on the arm of his chair, his chin resting in the palm of his right hand, with two fingers pressed against the side of his cheek, he wondered why God allowed all the evil in the world and did not send angels in the garb of men to act as bishops and priests where men were failing so miserably.

He used to ask himself: Does not the good book of the holy Brothers of the Common Life say: "If you had the purity of an angel and the sanctity of St. John the Baptist, you would not be worthy to administer this sacrament"? Why, then, the evil that is abroad in the land? Surely every priest reads these words: "A priest

ought to be adorned with all virtues and give example of good life to others. His life and conversation should not be in the common ways of mankind, but with the angels in heaven or with perfect men on earth. A priest clad in his sacred vestments is the ambassador of Christ, that with all supplications and humility he may beseech God for himself and for the whole people. He has before him and behind him the sign of the cross of the Lord, that he may always remember the passion of Christ. He bears the cross before him on his vestment, that he may diligently behold the footsteps of Christ and strive fervently to follow therein. He is marked with the cross behind him, that he may suffer meekly for God's sake whatsoever evils shall befall him. He carries the cross before him that he may bewail his own sins, and behind him that he may compassionately lament the sins of others and realize that he is placed as mediator between God and the sinner. Neither ought he to cease from prayer and holy oblation until he prevail to obtain grace and mercy. When a priest does celebrate, he honors God, he rejoices the angels, he edifies the Church, he helps the living, he obtains rest for the departed, and makes himself partaker of all good things." Is there no honor outside the convents, outside the monasteries? Must one be alone and apart from men in order to be apart from sin?

John Fisher began to wonder whether he should not continue his preparation for the priesthood. Many circumstances argued against such a course: Fisher was of

a retiring nature even though his heart and eyes were aflame with zeal. He knew that if he became a priest, realizing that his holy orders came from the divine Commander Jesus Christ through the ordaining bishop, he would have to wield the sword of his own holiness to conquer the demons of evil just as the Lord had wielded the sword of the cross. He knew he would never be able to compete with other priests in raising revenues for buildings and pageantry, unless some wealthy patron happened to endow him with funds. He was independent in spirit. He knew that perhaps thieving prelates would consider him undesirable. And, finally, he wished to remain personally innocent of sin. Nobody knew better than John Fisher how hard this would be in the corruption of sixteenth-century England.

But a peculiar event decided Fisher to enter the priesthood. A good friend of his, John Colet, who had won his Master of Arts degree at Oxford University and was therefore entitled to lecture on secular subjects at the University, just returned from Italy where he had studied Scripture. Never before in its history had Oxford allowed anyone without a theological degree to lecture on the Scripture. But Colet was permitted to do so during the Michaelmas term of 1496. Fisher had a friend take notes at these lectures and was impressed by what he read; for the lectures showed a knowledge of Scriptures and also something no less important, an interest in Scripture.

Fisher got in touch with Colet and with Thomas More, a well-known young barrister who himself had one time, after his training in the well-conducted household of Cardinal Morton, considered becoming a priest. One night these three discussed affairs and conditions in Italy, with particular reference to Rome and Florence. Colet spoke feelingly of the rise of the new learning (later called humanism) and told of the arguments about neo-Platonism that had stormed Rome shortly before he arrived there, only to give place to truly Christian thought during his stay. He explained that it was the inspiration of Grocyn and Linacre that had sent him to Italy in the first place, but when he arrived there he found the subject of Plato comparatively ignored. So he turned his attention to Dionysius, Ambrose, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Duns Scotus, and Thomas Aquinas. He told Fisher of the Platonic Academy and the generous patronage of arts and sciences by the wealthy Lorenzo de' Medici. He told how this Lorenzo had been called "the Magnificent" by all Florence except Fra Girolamo Savonarola the prior of the Dominican monastery of San Marco. This prior, it seemed, opposed the licentiousness and wealth of the Medici family, even though that family supported his monastery. Despite Savonarola's wrath, Colet declared, Lorenzo de' Medici was not a really bad man, having come from a respectable line of pharmacists (hence the name "Medici") who used to adorn their shops with a sign showing six pills. From which signs the later generations

took their coat-of-arms. Moreover, the capsules gave rise to the war cry of "Palle! Palle!" which summoned help when any Medici was in trouble. Although Lorenzo had died a year before Colet's arrival in Florence, Colet felt the great man's influence everywhere he turned. At Rome he met Lorenzo's son, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, who in 1489, at the age of only twelve years, had been created cardinal *in petto* by his uncle, Pope Innocent VIII, and was publicly proclaimed a cardinal three years later (March, 1492).

One of the things that most interested Colet was the widespread dissemination of copies of the last letter Lorenzo de' Medici wrote before his death. It was a letter to his son, the new Cardinal: a letter full of wisdom but full of diplomacy, full of holiness but full of worldliness. This letter depicted the close of the fifteenth century better than many volumes of history could do. In part, it read:

The eternal debt of the Medici House can never be paid with gratitude enough to divine Providence for having conferred upon us in your person the greatest dignity we have ever enjoyed. The only way the debt can be repaid is by a pious, chaste, and exemplary life. Endeavor to alleviate the burden of your early dignity by the regularity of your life and by your perseverance in those studies which are suitable to your profession. It gave me great satisfaction to learn that in the course of the last year you had frequently, of your own accord, gone to confession and communion; nor do I conceive that there is any better way of obtaining the favor of Heaven. . . . As you are now to reside at Rome,

that sink of all iniquity, the difficulty of conducting yourself by these admonitions will be increased. Beware of evil companions as there is, at present, less virtue among your brethren of the Sacred College. . . . While you are, of course, to preserve the interests of Holy Mother Church above all other considerations, never forget to favor your family and your native place. . . . A beautiful house and a well-ordered household will be preferable to a great retinue and a splendid residence. Silk and jewels are not suitable for persons in your station. Your taste will be better shown in the acquisition of a few elegant remains of antiquity, or in the collecting of handsome books, and by your attendants being learned and well bred rather than numerous. . . . One rule I would recommend to your attention above all others: Rise early in the morning. This will not only contribute to your health, but will enable you to arrange and expedite the business of the day. . . . With respect to your speaking at the consistory, it will be most becoming for you at present to refer the matter in debate to the judgment of His Holiness, alleging as a reason your own youth and inexperience. You will probably be requested to intercede for the favors of the Pope on particular occasions. Be cautious, however, that you trouble him not too often; for his temper leads him to be most liberal to those who weary him least with their solicitations. This you must observe lest you should give him some offense, remembering also at times to converse with him on more agreeable topics and, if you should be obliged to request some kindness from him, let it be done with that modesty and humility which are so pleasing to his disposition. Farewell.

Colet continued the story of his journey on the Continent, pausing now and then to look admiringly at

young lawyer More, whom Colet, before going to Italy, had left at Oxford as a young student but fifteen years old. He told of being impressed by a brilliant review of the new French history of Gaguinus, a review written by a rising celebrity in Paris named Erasmus. This Erasmus impressed Colet by his thoroughly Christian attitude toward life.

"In fact," said Colet, "all Europe is beginning to turn toward the fundamentals of Christianity. The trend of the times, whether for better or for worse, will depend mostly on the type of priests and prelates that Europe will produce in the immediate future."

To all this, Master John Fisher of Michael House, Cambridge, listened with concentrated interest. Unconsciously John Colet was answering the unasked questions that were in the mind of Fisher. Fisher was thirty-eight years of age in that year of grace 1497 and, if he wished to be of active service in the priesthood, he realized quite well that he would have to make up his mind right away as to whether or not he would be ordained. He did make up his mind. Colet's talk made up his mind for him.

In the quiet of his study, the coziest room in the suite of the college master, long after he had taken his leave of Colet and young More, John Fisher pondered the problems of life and love and their relation to eternal life and eternal love. Finally, toward the midnight hour, gazing at the large wooden crucifix on the wall near his bed, Fisher murmured: "If it be Thy will, O Lord,

make me a priest. Make me and others like hard stones. Set in Thy Church strong and mighty pillars that may suffer and endure great labors—watching, poverty, thirst, hunger, cold and heat—which also shall not fear the threatenings of princes, persecution, neither death, but always persuade and think with themselves to suffer, with a good will, slanders, shame, and all kinds of torments, for the glory and laud of Thy holy name. By this manner, good Lord, the truth of Thy Gospel shall be preached throughout the world.” And before the end of the fifteenth century, John Fisher was ordained a priest.



Entrance Gateway to Trinity College (which absorbed Michael House). From a sketch made about 1838.

CHAPTER II

FISHER AS A PRIEST AND SCHOLAR

JOHN FISHER immediately received the patronage of Lady Margaret Beaufort, the countess of Richmond and mother of King Henry VII. She herself was learned and delighted to be in the company of learned people; and in the year 1500 there was none more learned than Master John Fisher. Lady Margaret seemed to have a premonition of the future when she chose him as her almoner, confessor, and spiritual director.

Master John Fisher found no great difficulty in being a good priest, despite the errors of some of his contemporaries and despite the scandals connected with the Borgias who were then in possession of the Vatican. He was, of course, an older man than most newly ordained priests, as, for instance, young Master Thomas Wolsey who was ordained the same year as Fisher at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. Fisher, therefore, was not entering upon the mysteries of life; he already knew what were life's pitfalls and the way to avoid them. Having lived a studious and ascetic life up to the age of thirty-nine, he continued living holily until his death.

Fisher could well agree, however, with the sermon

preached by Colet at the turn of the century before a distinguished group of prelates, priests, and monks at Oxford University. In this sermon Colet said:

Here let every priest observe by that sacramental of washing (before the consecration of the host), how clean, how scoured, how fresh he ought to be who would handle the heavenly mysteries and especially the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, soul, and divinity; how such ought to be so washed and scoured and polished inwardly that not so much as a shadow be left in the mind whereby the incoming light may be in any way obscured, and that not a trace of sin may remain to prevent God from walking in the temple of our mind. O priests! O priesthood! O detestable boldness of wicked men in this our generation! O the abominable impiety of those miserable priests, of whom this age of ours contains a great multitude, who fear not to rush from the bosom of some foul harlot into the temple of the Church, to the altar of Christ, to the mysteries of God! Abandoned creatures! On them the vengeance of God will one day fall the heavier, the more shamelessly they have intruded themselves on the divine office. O Jesus Christ, wash for us not our feet only, but our hands and our heads!

Knowing how truly Colet had spoken, Fisher began the habit, which was to be his for the rest of his life, of praying for his fellow-priests. There was no arrogance in Fisher's prayer, no self-conceit, but merely an acknowledgment of the evils existing among the clergy of his time, merely a sincere petition to the Holy Ghost that the minds of priests might be imbued with the light of eternal charity.

In the year 1501, Fisher received in course the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Cambridge and was immediately appointed vice-chancellor of the University. John Colet (who had also been ordained) served as the deacon of the mass which Fisher celebrated at Cambridge in thanksgiving for the dignities conferred upon him. In Fisher's honor the University held a giant celebration, which was attended by Lady Margaret Beaufort, her two grandsons (Arthur Prince of Wales and Henry Duke of York), and her granddaughters Princess Margaret and Princess Mary. The presence of so much royalty definitely established John Fisher as a personage of power in England.

It was a fateful year, the year of our Lord 1501. Arthur Prince of Wales had already been married by proxy many times to Catherine of Aragon. The purpose of the marriage was the building-up of King Henry VII's small fortune and the extending of the Spanish power and prestige. That Arthur must have known his father's mercenary intentions is certain, but Catherine's mind never grasped the lowness of the English designs until she arrived in England late in October, 1501. She had been impressed by the Prince's suit for love and marriage; his letters to her had been filled with the fine sentiments expected of a suitor.

When Catherine arrived at Plymouth, England, as a beautiful girl of sixteen years, with resplendent auburn hair and exquisite features, she was met by a delegation of honor. Halfway to London, the Spanish seclusion in

which she rode, according to the custom of royal brides at that time, was broken by the anxious King Henry VII, who wished to introduce the young bridegroom and doubtless make quick provision for the care of the booty which Catherine's retinue of servants had with them. King Henry VII himself wrote to King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella about Princess Catherine's triumphant entry into London on November 12, 1501, saying: "She was accompanied by such a multitude of prelates, high dignitaries, nobles, and knights, and with the acclamation of such masses of people, that the like had never before been seen in England."

One of the prelates and dignitaries that welcomed Catherine was Master John Fisher, as a representative of the University of Cambridge. He took part in the wedding ceremonies and heard all the talk and rumor and knew all the facts about Catherine's marital relations with Prince Arthur, so that in later years he was able to oppose the whims of King Henry VIII.

When Catherine rode into London, Duke Henry of York rode by her side. He was a strong boy, not more than ten years of age, vigorous and as handsome as most of the royalty of his time. He was dressed in white silk, and his horse was adorned with golden trappings. Catherine rode on a golden saddle. Her dress was that of her native land, and she wore a crimson hat, bound with cords of gold. Her long flowing hair was allowed to fall loosely over her shoulders. The two royal young people drew the applause of the watching crowds.

St. Paul's, two days later, showed pomp and splendor never before excelled. The thin and pale, but rather handsome, Prince Arthur, attired in white satin (like his bride), beamed with pleasure as he formally took Catherine as his wife at the high altar of the cathedral. The organs resounded joyously, the nobility showed their pleasure, and the clergy prayed that this wedding would be for the glory of England.

None of the assembled guests had any idea that the ten-year-old boy, who so smilingly conducted his brother's bride up the nave of St. Paul's to where Prince Arthur waited, would become not only Prince of Wales but also the husband of Catherine and King of England.

When the long day was over, Prince Arthur and his bride were conducted to their nuptial chamber and, with many a smile and a nod, were put to bed in state and left to themselves. The marriage, however, was never consummated. Throughout her life with Prince Arthur, Catherine remained a virgin and, to use her own phrase, "as intact and untouched as when she came from the womb of her mother." At Arthur's sudden death within a year, therefore, her marriage to him would not prove any barrier to her future marriage to his brother Henry.

The morning after the wedding, Arthur and Catherine went in pomp and ceremony to their palace at Baynard's Castle. On November 28, 1501, King Henry VII received the first installment of money from the Spanish commissioners toward Catherine's dowry. Two days

later, Prince Arthur wrote a letter to their Majesties of Spain, promising to make Catherine happy.

At the close of the year, Lady Margaret Beaufort decided it was time that Duke Henry should pass from the French and lute-playing of Tutor Skelton and go to the classroom of Doctor John Fisher for training in Latin and theology. Fisher took the Duke to his charge with delight, because it was rumored that Duke Henry was to become eventually the Archbishop of Canterbury. Fisher began training him well in Latin and theology and was pleased to note the readiness with which the young man grasped the subjects. Then the unexpected happened. On April 2, 1502, less than six months after his wedding to Catherine, Prince Arthur died of the sweating sickness at Ludlow Castle in Wales.

John Fisher as vice-chancellor of Cambridge induced Lady Margaret to found many new lectureships, including the Lady Margaret Chairs of Divinity at both Cambridge and Oxford Universities in 1502. He himself became the first professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. Fisher at this time was at the best physical condition of his life. Later he developed numerous diseases, although he remained firm enough even to his death to speak the truth fearlessly. At the University he wore a black professor's robe, trimmed with purple. He was tall, broad-shouldered, well formed, and strongly sinewed. His black hair was slowly being tinged with gray. He had a large forehead, wide mouth, and long nose. His skin was tawny, showing blue veins;

for, though he was strong, he was always thin. The gray-black penetrating eyes seemed to challenge everyone on whom they fell.

But the most fascinating thing about Fisher was his speech, his conversation, which was not the least bit pedantic or dull. He was a theologian of high standing. He was a man of God, just and charitable, a friend to mankind. However, he could laugh. The ability to talk interestingly and laugh gleefully was an outstanding trait in Fisher. He seemed so full of wisdom and knowledge, that a person little trained in the ways of greatness might have expected him to remain solemn at all times. But Fisher was not a poser. Being brilliant, he did not have to pretend to brilliance.

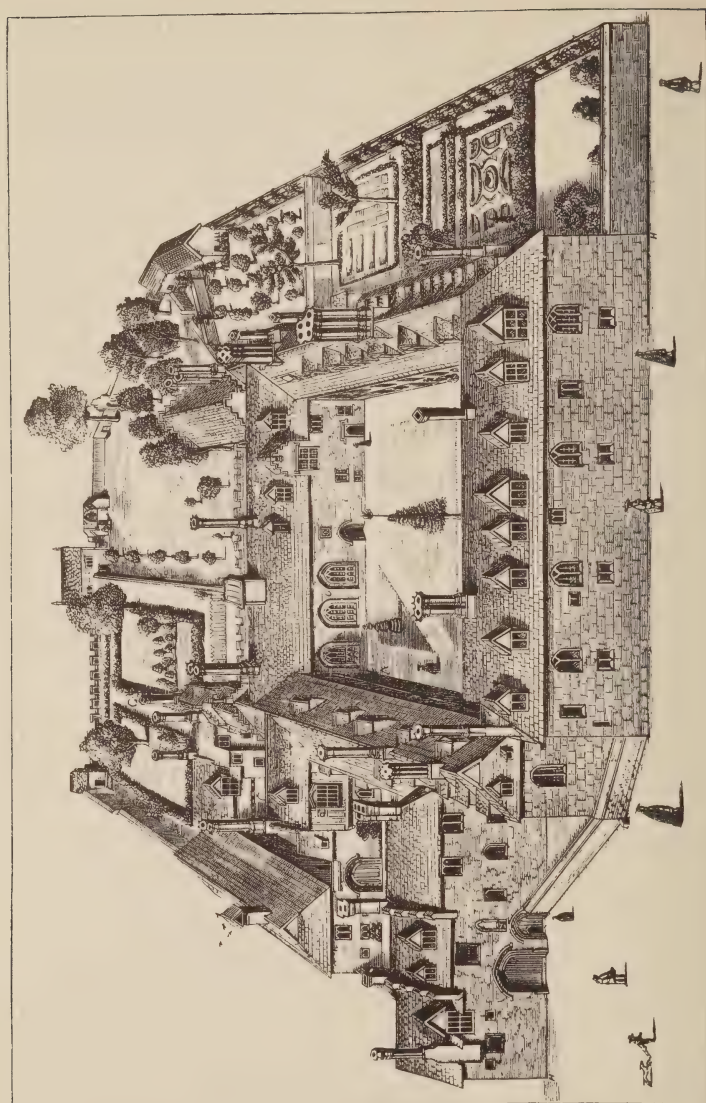
Fisher was never an athlete. His books interested him more than anything else except the sanctification and salvation of Christendom. For recreation, he read a book. And when he was not working, reading, or studying, he was praying, because he believed that in prayer lay the solution to most of the problems of the world. Perhaps it was this habit of prayer more than anything else that enabled him to pass through the difficulties of the succeeding years with a calm spirit and firm mind.

In the autumn of 1502, when Prince Arthur and his mother Queen Elizabeth were both dead, there began a long bickering among the royalty of Europe as to what was to be done with the members of the English royal family who were thus left stranded. Although common people could properly live alone when their spouses

died, it seemed to be necessary for royalty to make new marital alliances immediately. Hence the hand of Princess Catherine was open to proposals; and King Henry VII waited for bids on the international matrimonial market.

At first he entertained a notion of marrying Catherine himself, but Queen Isabella of Spain, notwithstanding all her plans for united greatness between Spain and England, was horrified at the idea of her young daughter being wedded to an old man like Henry VII. She wrote a very businesslike letter to her ambassador in England, the Duke of Estrada, telling him to inform the English King that she was unwilling to have her daughter's name and reputation bantered about lightly in the alehouses of England. She proposed that Henry VII marry Ferdinand's niece Juana, the young Queen of Naples. Since Juana was well endowed, Henry took this advice and considered Juana well. This freshened the air and, at long last (June 23, 1503), Henry VII signed the agreement for the marriage of his son Prince Henry to Princess Catherine. Two days later, Henry and Catherine were solemnly betrothed to each other in the Bishop of Salisbury's palace in Fleet Street.

At the time of this betrothal, Prince Henry was only twelve years old. Therefore the marriage was postponed for another two years, presumably to allow Henry to become mature at the age of fourteen, but actually to allow sufficient time for settling the disputes about the amounts of the dowries.



Trinity Hall about 1688. After Loggan.

In August of 1503, King Ferdinand wrote to his ambassador at Rome, instructing him to obtain a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage of Princess Catherine and Prince Henry. He said, in part: "In the clause of the treaty which mentions the dispensation of the Pope, it is stated that the Princess Catherine consummated her marriage with Prince Arthur. It is well known in England that the Princess is still a virgin. But as the English are much disposed to cavil, it has seemed to be more prudent to provide for the case as though the marriage had been consummated, and the dispensation of the Pope must be in perfect keeping with the said clause of the treaty."

Doctor Fisher followed the trend of events with keen interest, for he now saw in Prince Henry the next King of England.

CHAPTER III

FISHER AS BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

IN 1504, John Fisher was consecrated Bishop of Rochester. It was a tribute to the renaissance of learning in England as much as to Fisher himself. It was also a tribute to holiness. Since Fisher gave all he had to the poor, he certainly had nothing in a pecuniary way to offer for the bishopric, and everybody knew it. All his life he was rich in wisdom and learning and piety, but poor in the material things of this world.

Shortly after his consecration, Bishop Fisher was chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; subsequently he was elected to that esteemed position for life, an honor never before bestowed on anybody. Under his direction, St. John's College and Christ's College at Cambridge came into being and took their place among the greatest schools in England. They were endowed, for the most part, by Lady Margaret.

About this same time, Dean Robert Sherborn of St. Paul's was nominated for the bishopric of the vacant see of St. David, and Master John Colet was called to the deanery of St. Paul's although he had to wait until April, 1505 (when Dean Sherborn was formally made a

bishop), before assuming office. Since Colet was a friend of Fisher (and Fisher was a friend of the King's mother), it is readily appreciated how Colet received this promotion at this time, together with the long-deferred degree of Doctor of Divinity. It meant a change of influence, from Oxford to St. Paul's.

But, though friends, Colet and Fisher were not alike in their ways and ideas. Both loved the poor and scorned lavish personal display, especially the many mansions of the prelates of the day. But Colet was an extremist, whereas Fisher was a normal Catholic bishop (or, at least, what a normal bishop should be). Although neither Fisher nor Colet was ever puffed up and although both bitterly scorned the international intrigues of the day, Colet thought the best way to combat them was to flee from them and be alone in virtue, while Fisher thought it would be better to stay among evil men and try to bring them to do the right—to be, as it were, a ray of sunshine in the otherwise dark world.

When Colet became Dean of St. Paul's, he had a right to use the purple cassock and cloak that were customary; but he continued to wear the simple black woolen robe he had worn at Oxford. He wore the same outer garment the year round, putting a little black fur on it in the winter. He gave away all stipends and gifts and income, except what was needed for the expenses of his household. He ate frugally and never entertained at table at night. During the day, whenever anybody dined with him, it was only to discover a situation such as

might have taken place at Charterhouse: a chapter being read from the Epistles of St. Paul or the Proverbs of Solomon, with a commentary given by the learned Dean himself.

But Bishop Fisher entertained well, welcoming to his table all men at all times. He dressed in whatever robes were customary, having them set out for him by his manservant and hardly knowing, at times, what robes he actually was wearing. But no revels took place at the palace of the Bishop of Rochester. Fisher laughed freely and coined witty phrases; but his wit always had a point, a point that sometimes penetrated the hearts of his listeners. The one thing that annoyed many of the other bishops was Fisher's insistence that all proposals be just and honest before any consideration would be given them. It did not make any difference to Fisher who made the proposals—whether King or Cardinal—the proposals had to be in keeping with God's justice and truth.

As a bishop, John Fisher was most exemplary. He loved the poor of his diocese. He fed them and clothed them and went out of his way to get them work to do at fair wages. Next to the poor in the good Bishop's affection came the young students for the priesthood in his diocese. He delighted to talk with these young men, to give them advice and counsel. He paid for their entire education and training. All the money he could spare, he spent on comforts for them, believing that, while the candidates for the priesthood were students,

they should be treated with the greatest care and consideration.

Other bishops of the time paid little heed to the young students in their dioceses, paying all their attention to those already ordained priests, who knew how to bring in vast sums of money. The other bishops were, as a consequence, richer than Fisher. Fisher, however, gloried in the fact that he was not a banker, but a Catholic bishop, a saintly bishop, a real bishop.

Among his other achievements as Chancellor of Cambridge University was his introduction of the study of Greek there in 1511, when his invitation brought Erasmus to Cambridge as a teacher and a student. Since Erasmus was noted as the leading humanist and scholar of his day, it was greatly to Fisher's credit that he was able to bring Erasmus to England.

Though the work of the University of Cambridge was a terrific strain on a man of Fisher's conscientiousness, he looked after every detail concerning the governing of the rapidly developing institution with as much zeal as he conducted the affairs of his diocese. From 1505 to 1509 (the year Henry VIII ascended the throne of England), Bishop Fisher continued a steady daily routine, remaining mild in appearance, but wonderfully strong and clear in his speech. The clergy and the laity alike felt the whip and sting of the Bishop's sermons.

Although St. John's College was not completed until July of 1516, it may be well to mention now some mat-

ters concerning it and the foundation of Christ's College; because Fisher's connections with Cambridge University will be little mentioned later on.

Fisher loved the colleges; he regarded them as a stepping-stone to higher wisdom and love of God. The colleges produced the educated priests and the educated laity of the time. It was from the better education of the clergy that Fisher hoped most, knowing that a good priest is one of holiness and learning; that a priest without holiness is a devil, and a priest without learning is a millstone round the neck of the Church.

Several benefactions besides lectureships and scholarships were founded by him at Cambridge, the money coming from his own pocket, without any public or general appeal for funds to help him. For instance, he founded at Christ's College, Cambridge, a benefice to provide for annual commemoration "in a solemn manner" and the celebration of solemn mass for the souls of himself, his parents and his heirs, with the proviso that on the day of that commemoration there should be a distribution of funds among the fellows and the scholars of the University. At both colleges he founded fellowships and scholarships, with the proviso that two-thirds of those receiving the benefices should be already ordained priests (with the implication that the other third should be students for the priesthood). He arranged for twenty-four series of thirty masses each, to be said annually by "the most virtuous and indigent priests in the college," for the repose of his soul. For

each series the priest saying the masses was to receive a stipend of ten shillings. For the observance of the yearly anniversary of his death he made regulations appointing the recitation of the office on the vigil and the saying of mass on the day itself, requiring the presence thereat of the master and all fellows and scholars; and candles were to burn on the high altar and on his tomb. On this occasion, the master was to receive six shillings and eight pence; each fellow was to be given three shillings and four pence; and each scholar was to receive a shilling.

Regarding the source of all these considerable funds, Bishop Fisher himself explains in the preamble of the statutes of his foundations: "The noble princess, Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the foundress of this college, in her great condescension had a great desire to procure me a richer bishopric. But when she saw that her approaching death would frustrate this desire, she left me a no small sum of money to use according to my own will and for my own purposes, which I mention lest anyone should think that I have made this large endowment with other people's money. Now, as I receive from the annual revenue of the Bishopric of Rochester quite enough for the decent maintenance of a prelate, and since the college has sustained certain losses, I have considered it is better that both her legacy and also a considerable addition of my own should be spent for the good of my own soul, in the education of theologians, than squandered on my relatives, or wick-

edly and uselessly consumed for other vain purposes, according to the custom of the world. And this I do, not only for my own soul, but by my example to excite others to lend a helping hand to the college."

The sum mentioned is the equivalent of more than \$60,000 in American money; this was for the mass foundations. There is also mention of funds for the purchase, by the college, of land (valued in our money at \$7,500) every year for an indefinite number of years.

In his lifetime, Bishop Fisher saw the erection of four college buildings at Cambridge: St. Mary's Church, St. Nicholas' (or King's College) Chapel, Christ's College, and St. John's College; the first two were owing to the generosity of Henry VII, and the latter two due to Lady Margaret Beaufort. No doubt it was this success under Fisher that stirred Wolsey's jealousy and prompted him to suppress monasteries unscrupulously in order to erect his colleges at Oxford some years later. The reason for Fisher's colleges being erected without evil and Wolsey's being erected with evil is obviously that with Fisher the colleges were a matter of love, a means of furthering the work of religion and learning, a means of training good priests for service in England; whereas with Wolsey, his colleges were but a means of perpetuating his own name, of showing to England and the world how he, Wolsey, was not only a great diplomat in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, but also a great patron of the arts.

At that time all the chapels at both Cambridge and



Interior of the Hall, Trinity College (which absorbed Michael House of which Fisher was Master). From a sketch about 1838.

Oxford were of course Catholic; for then England, along with the rest of Christendom, acknowledged the pope as its spiritual pontiff. The custom of the time was to have the Holy Eucharist enclosed in a pyx of precious jewels and gold and to have the pyx suspended day and night before the altars. Mass was said at least once daily on each altar in every college chapel in England. All university students attended daily mass; some of the more devout remained through three, four, or five masses daily where such were said. It seems to have been the opinion of Fisher as well as of others that the one thing to keep a student's mind on his work was a realization of his purpose in life; and nothing would show the young student (whether for the priesthood or for the medical and legal professions or for scholastic or diplomatic careers) the purpose of life better than daily attendance at mass.

We can realize that John Fisher's interest in Cambridge was the interest of a priest rather than of a mere scholar, and that it was not, therefore, incompatible with his office as Bishop of Rochester. Never for a moment did he let the University duties interfere with his pastoral and diocesan duties. Fisher never rested. He kept at a continual round of occupations, some of them pleasant, some of them difficult, some of them very disagreeable. The pleasant duties were those connected with the saying of mass, the reading of the Breviary, the saying of the rosary, the recitation of Vespers and Compline, and Solemn Benediction; in fact, all duties

connected with the priesthood itself. The difficult duties were many: the preparation of his sermons, and so forth, the occasionally necessary reprimanding of students at the University and of priests and lay people in the Diocese of Rochester, the serving on special committees of the King (such offices being very onerous to a man like Fisher). The disagreeable duties of Fisher were the occasional expelling of teachers and students from the University for certain breaches of conduct or belief, and the constant fighting against evil bishops of the time to hold firm to certain cherished principles. Fisher was essentially a mild man. He did not like to fight. But he could fight when he believed it necessary for the preservation of fundamental truths and rights, or even prerogatives. He fought not only for himself (as was perfectly right), but also for all his flock and subordinates. There was nobody at the University of Cambridge or in the Diocese of Rochester who did not feel free at all times to take his troubles and difficulties directly to the Bishop himself. For, unlike Wolsey (who seemed to fear the people and kept the doors of his palace closed against them), Fisher went out of his way to invite all people, rich and poor and middle-class alike, to come to him for advice and assistance. After all, John Fisher was a real bishop. He was another Christ, and Christ had said, "Come to Me, all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you."

Bishop Fisher, more than any other man in England, could have honestly pleaded that he had no time to take

care of other people's affairs. But he made time, even if it meant that some nights he slept not more than four hours. The long strain on his energy rendered him subject to all the ailments associated with consumption. But John Fisher was a good shepherd; he knew his, and his knew him. He was not, like Wolsey, a mere accumulator of money and power, a mere hireling who would fly when he saw the wolf coming, having no care for his sheep. Fisher was a good shepherd who knew, in the words of his divine Master, that "the good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep."

Of course, everybody in England knew that Fisher was the best type of priest; but many worldly-minded priests merely sneered at his goodness. For the laymen, Fisher was a consolation. And he was a strong support to those priests, both in England and on the continent of Europe, who wished to be real noblemen of Christ. Erasmus in 1518, writing of Fisher to Wolsey (of all people), called the saint "a divine prelate"; and in 1520 in a letter to Reuchlin, Erasmus, speaking of England, said of Fisher: "There is not in that nation a more learned man or a holier bishop."

The diocese of Rochester was formed by the English patron, St. Augustine himself, and consisted of ninety-nine parishes, most of which were in the western part of the county of Kent. It had three deaneries: Rochester, Malling, and Dartford; this last being divided by Canterbury's deanery of Shoreham. Thus Fisher's was the smallest diocese in England; the episcopal

city itself was entirely built up about the bishop's palace and cathedral.

Bishop Fisher's house was called "the bishop's palace," as were the really gorgeous palaces of some of the bishops; but in Fisher's case the title was grander than the place. The house had been built in 1450 close to a river and was by no means healthful. Fisher was the last bishop to live in it (his Protestant successors demanding "decent living quarters"). There is a letter from Erasmus to Fisher, dated September 4, 1524, which gives some idea of the "bishop's palace" at Rochester:

It was with the utmost concern I read that part of your letter wherein you express your fear of ever living to see my book arrive. My concern was still further heightened by the account your servant gave of the ill state of your health. . . . I shrewdly suspect that the state of your health principally depends upon your situation. The near approach of the tide, as well as the mud which is left exposed at every reflux of the water, renders the climate unwholesome. Your library, too, is surrounded with glass windows, which let the keen air through the crevices. I know how much time you spend in the library, which is to you a very paradise. As for me, I could not live in such a place three hours without becoming sick.

But in his house, poor as it was, Bishop Fisher remained and studied. Daily he said mass in his cathedral chapel. His tone of voice was edifying and his movements were solemn. Prayer was his greatest comfort, and the mass was the greatest prayer. Once in later life,

when complimented by a Carthusian monk for his zeal in gathering the necessary material to refute Luther's arguments, Fisher replied that he wished he had spent that time in prayer; because prayer would have done more good.

Sometimes congregations at mass witnessed the Bishop weeping as he consecrated the sacred host. To keep himself mindful of death, he used to have a death skull set on one end of the altar during mass and before him at his table during his meals. Not at all morbid, Fisher knew the frailty of human nature and the necessity for reminding nature of the day of judgment. In all his prayers and on other occasions he showed a special reverence for the holy name of Jesus.

He fasted much and he gave alms often. Frequently he visited the poor in their own homes, no matter how wretched those homes might be, the houses of the poor in England at that time being hovels filled with smoke from the turf and peat which they used as fuel. While the Bishop's servants, for fear of sickness, often refused to enter a smoke-filled hut, the Bishop himself would enter alone and stay as long as two hours, conversing with the sick person. Before leaving, it was his custom to bestow his episcopal blessing upon the sick person and to leave a sum of money for the purchase of food and medicine. At times he also bought clothing and fuel for those who seemed to be suffering from the cold as much as from their sickness.

Fisher had a steward whom he charged with the

feeding of the poor of the diocese of Rochester. Meat and vegetables and clothing were given out every day at the gate of the Bishop's residence. No questions were ever asked; the mere presence of people was sufficient indication of their need. Money was also given; some of these "mere pittances" (as Fisher called them) amounting to the equivalent of five dollars in modern money. This sum amounted to a workingman's pay for five days. Widows and orphans were taken care of by the Bishop, and he was a steady host to all travelers who happened to be passing through Rochester. Once, when his brother remonstrated with him about his accommodating total strangers, he said: "If we were to turn away a Stranger and He were then to show Himself as Jesus Christ, what would ye have to say then?" That silenced the brother.

Occasionally at table, when there were no strangers present who might be bored, Fisher would discuss questions of doctrine and morality with his chaplains, to the edification and enlightenment of the chaplains and of the Bishop himself. The discussion was carried on in such a free and friendly manner that Fisher's home was frequently referred to as "a second Cambridge University."

However, although he entertained others royally, Fisher himself was very abstemious. In all his life he never once left the table with his appetite fully satisfied. Doubtless it was this absolute mastery of his will that enabled him to control his fears of the wrath of Cardinal Wolsey, King Henry, and the others in the

sad years from 1529 to 1535. Fisher's fare consisted usually of thin pottage, in which were placed a few pieces of fowl. He kept all fast days strictly and made a few extra fast days for his own personal observance.

At all times (until the day of his death, when he took it off to don "his marriage gown" for his wedding to the martyrdom for the faith), John Fisher wore a hair shirt. And night found him stretched out on a hard couch of straw and mats on the floor. He had no bed. His sleep lasted only four hours at a time. Sometimes he would go to bed at eight in the evening and rise at twelve to pray for an hour; then back to bed until five o'clock, when he rose for the day. At other times, when he was writing prolifically or handling some special matter, he would eliminate the first four hours of sleep altogether and not go to bed until one o'clock in the morning, only to rise again at five o'clock as usual.

Toward the close of his life, from his sixtieth year to his death at seventy-six, because of consumption and liver ailments he was obliged to eat a little more and to sleep the two shifts in the night. But he always was up to pray at midnight to the Lord God, Maker of men and of worlds, just as he prayed to Him at dawn, at high noon and at eventide. As mass was the first prayer of the morning, so vespers constituted the chief prayer of the evening.

The care of his household, which was composed of only a few servants, the Bishop entrusted to his brother Robert, a layman, who acted as the Bishop's chief stew-

ard and took care of financial affairs with a very fine spirit. The Bishop's servants had only one rule to observe, that they should act like Christians. Fisher never interfered with them or rebuked them except for such offenses as drunkenness and profanity. When a few instances of this came to his attention, he gave the guilty parties such a lecture that they never committed these offenses again.

Thus Bishop John Fisher of Rochester ran his house like a monastery, providing for all wayfarers and for the needy, instructing and teaching in the name of Christ, preaching daily at the cathedral chapel, reciting the litanies of the saints frequently, holding religious services morning and evening, and blessing the night with his pleas for the safety and sanctification of the world. Alone, at night, he used to kneel in his chapel before our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament and pray earnestly: "Let me ever show forth Thy Glory, O God. For, like heavenly bodies, the ministers of God should illuminate by the splendor of their lives, warm by the ardor of their charity, moisten by their counsels, vivify by their promises, thunder by their threats, flash by their miracles. This was so not only in the days of the Apostles; the Church is ever one and the same and now stands in need of such ministries no less than then."



Catharine of Aragon
(About 1515)

From the Painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

CHAPTER IV

THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY VIII AND CATHERINE

THUS WHILE Bishop Fisher kept a steadiness that was like the endless coming of love and hope, more perfect in its perfection than the pleasant succession of night and day, there was, unfortunately, a state of chaos approaching in the England that had once proudly gone to the Crusades with King Richard the Lionheart, in the England that had once given the world a pope (Nicholas Breakspear, who ascended the papal throne as Adrian IV on Christmas Day, 1154), in the England that had known St. Thomas à Becket, Cardinal Stephen Langton, Cardinal Simon Langham, Cardinal Adam Easton, Cardinal Henry Beaufort, and Cardinal John Morton. And that chaos was to be caused by a successor to Richard on the English throne of England and by a successor to those cardinals, primates of the Church in England.

King Henry VII, from the time of the formal engagement of Henry Prince of Wales to Catherine Princess of Wales, assured good Queen Isabella and strong King Ferdinand that all was well. The dispensation was granted and the papal bull was signed by Pope Julius

II on November 26, 1503. It proved to be a consolation to the pious Queen Isabella of Castile, who received the papal dispensation the next year and who died on November 26, 1504, exactly one year from the signing of it. She died happy, in the grace of God and at peace with the Holy See. Although her death elevated the Catholic piety of Europe and a common expression of the times was, "May God grant me as holy a death as that of Isabella," yet it made a difference for Prince Henry and Princess Catherine.

Henry VII diplomatically wrote to King Ferdinand II that the King of England loved the King of Spain, Southern Italy, and Sicily more than any prince and was most ready and willing to conclude a new treaty of alliance with him. But (and the "but" was hard and sharp) on June twenty-seventh of the year 1505, the very day before Prince Henry completed his fourteenth year, King Henry VII made secret preparations for obtaining a declaration of nullity of the impending marriage (if later he should so desire) by having the young Prince of Wales formally denounce the betrothal and the marriage (before the Bishop of Winchester) on the ground that the marriage contract had been made for him when he was still a minor. Having reached the age of puberty, he declared, he would not agree to becoming the husband of Catherine but would denounce the contract his father had made for the marriage as null and void. This protest was never used; apparently it was merely a legal document that King Henry VII could

use if proper sums of money were not forthcoming from King Ferdinand II or if a better match could be arranged for Prince Henry.

With Isabella gone, Catherine's position seemed not so secure. Ferdinand's actions indicate that he was eager to have the question of Catherine's marriage settled. Although he sincerely hoped for the marriage between Prince Henry and Princess Catherine, the hope was based upon a desire to have the matter settled, so that he might turn his mind to fox hunting in southern Italy. He kept delaying the payment of the marriage portion, without which Henry VII could not even conceive of marriage. The wrangling continued for years, but Prince Henry and Princess Catherine were destined for each other. King Henry VII, shortly before his death on April 23, 1509, counseled his son (shortly to be crowned the new King) to remain a good Catholic, to defend the Pope and the Catholic Church, and to hasten the long postponed marriage with Catherine.

King Ferdinand II did not know of the dying Henry's advice to his son. Alarmed at the state of affairs when he received word that the King of England was dead, he sent two letters in all haste to Henry VIII and to his own agent respectively. The letter to the new King was full of diplomatic sentimentality, bemoaning the fact that Ferdinand had lost a brother and at the same time rejoicing that he had gained a son. The letter pledged armed support should Henry be opposed in his claim to the throne of England, a pledge that Ferdinand

himself, as though he were a great warrior, would lead the Spanish army to Henry's defense. One item of real importance in Ferdinand's letter to Henry VIII was his statement with regard to the late King. "The only consolation," wrote Ferdinand, "is that he died a good Catholic." Whether Ferdinand surmised the terrible things that were to come, we cannot say. But in this connection a noteworthy fact is that the man who later was to form the Society of Jesus and save Europe from chaos was at this very time a page in Ferdinand's court—Ignatius Loyola.

Ferdinand's other letter was addressed (May, 1509) to "the Knight Commander of Membrilla," who was Don Fuensalida, the Spanish ambassador to the English Court. The letter read:

If the King of England [Henry VII] is really dead, the French as well as others will enter into all kinds of intrigues to prevent the marriage of the new King and the Princess Catherine from taking place. You must, therefore, by all means in your power persuade the new King of England to marry the Princess without any delay. . . . If the King of England is dead, you must, as soon as you receive this despatch, go to the new King, give him the enclosed letter, and explain to him at length everything contained in it, making use of the best arguments that occur to you and the sweetest words you can imagine. That done, you must deliver your credentials and tell the new King in Ferdinand's name that his [Henry VIII's] age and position as a king without heirs render it imperatively necessary for him to take a wife without delay and to beget children. Beg the

King of England most earnestly not to defer any longer the consummation of his marriage with the Princess Catherine, who is already his wife. The dower shall be punctually paid.

While these letters were on their way to England, the new King Henry VIII was in mourning for his father, the late Henry VII. The funeral sermon, or eulogy, was preached by Bishop Fisher, who spoke of the late monarch in kindly tone and gentle words. Toward the end of the sermon, the Bishop, referring to the late King's hope of going to heaven at death, said:

The cause of this hope was true belief that he had in God, in His Church and in the sacraments thereof, which he received all with marvelous devotion; namely, in the Sacrament of Penance, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Sacrament of Aneling. Penance he received with a marvelous compassion and flow of tears so that at some times he wept and sobbed for the space of three-quarters of an hour. The Sacrament of the Altar he received at Mid-Lent and again upon Easter-day, with such great reverence that all who were present were astonished thereat; for, at his first entrance into the chapel where the Sacrament was, he took off his bonnet and knelt down upon his knees and thus crept forth devoutly until he came to that place where he received the Sacrament. Two days prior to his parting, he was of that feebleness that he could not receive It again; nevertheless he desired to see the monstrance in which It was contained. When the good father, his confessor, in as goodly manner as was convenient, brought It to him, he with such reverence, with so many knockings and beatings of his breast, with so quick and lively a countenance, with so

desirous a heart, made his humble obeisance thereto, with such humility and devotion kissed not that place where the Blessed Body of our Lord was contained but the lowest part, the foot of the monstrance, that all who stood about him scarcely could refrain from tears and weeping. The Sacrament of Aneling, when he well perceived that he began utterly to fail, he desirously asked therefor and heartily prayed that it might be administered to him; wherein he made ready and offered every part of his body by order and as well as he could despite his weakness turned himself at every time and answered in the suffrages thereof. The very day of his departing, he heard mass of the glorious Virgin, the Mother of Christ, to whom always in his life he had singular and special devotion. The image of the crucifix many a time that day full devoutly he beheld with great reverence, lifting up his head as well as he could, holding up his hands before it, and often embracing it in his arms, and with great devotion kissing it, while frequently beating his breast. Who may think that in this man there was not perfect faith? Who may suppose that by this manner of dealing he did not faithfully believe that the ear of Almighty God was open to him and ready to hear him cry for mercy and assistance through these same sacraments which he so devoutly received?

Thus Bishop Fisher sounded the commendation of the Catholic Church on the repentant and pious last days of King Henry VII. No such eulogy would be given to Henry VII's son and heir, King Henry VIII, who would start out as a better Catholic than his father but, through yielding to his own will, would end as no Catholic at all.

When the moment came for the marriage of Henry

VIII and Catherine, Archbishop Warham of Canterbury stated that he had some conscientious objections to the wedding from a canonical standpoint, but he performed the marriage ceremonies, nevertheless, in private at the Friar Observants' Church, Greenwich, England, on June 11, 1509.

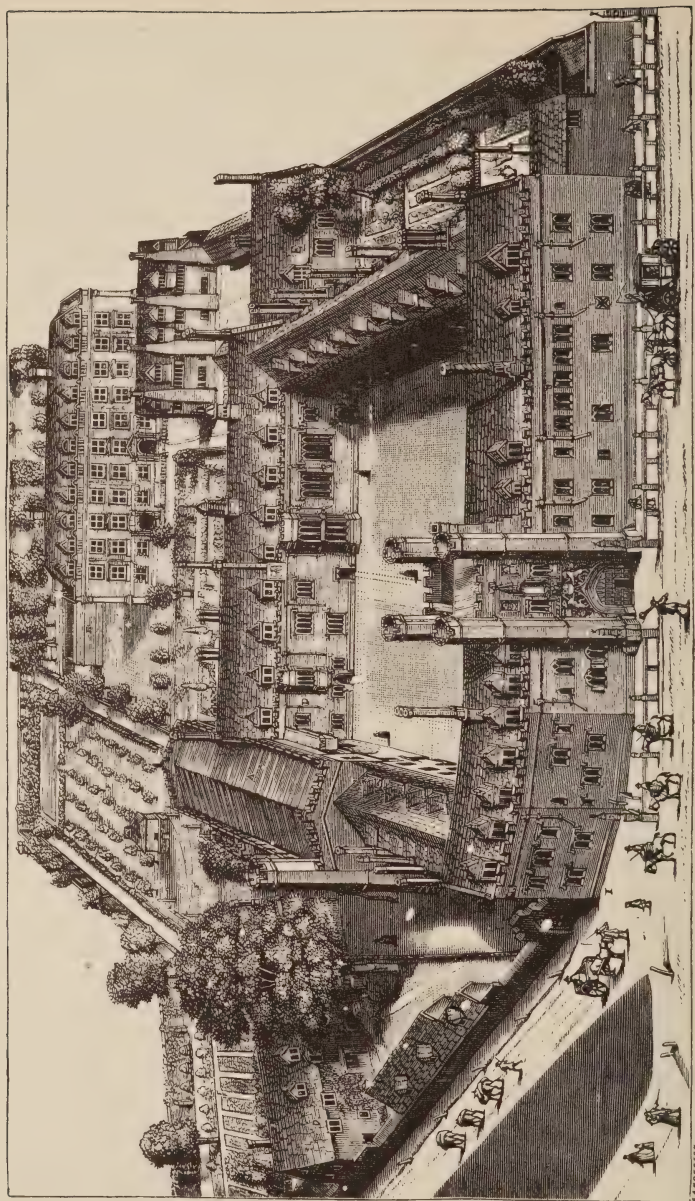
The new King was praised extravagantly by all the visiting ambassadors and princes. The Venetian ambassador, Andrea Badoer, wrote home: "The new King is magnificent, liberal, and a great enemy of the French." Accordingly the ceremonies attending the coronation (June 23, 1509) were resplendent, and well attended by representatives of all nations. But the jousts and feasts were brought to a sudden close by the death of Lady Margaret Beaufort, the King's grandmother and Bishop Fisher's patroness.

The Bishop, having been such a favorite with Lady Margaret, was naturally chosen as the preacher of her eulogy. His sermon was long and profound. In part he said:

That this noble princess had full faith in Jesus Christ it may appear if any will demand this question of her that our Savior demanded of Martha, *Credis hoc?* ("Believest thou this?"). What is it that this gentlewoman would not believe, she who ordained two continual readers in both universities to teach the holy divinity of Jesus, she who ordained preachers-perpetual to publish the doctrine and faith of Christ Jesus, she who built a royal college to the honor of the name of Christ Jesus and left to her executors funds for another to be built to maintain His faith and doctrine; she

who, besides all this, founded in the monastery of Westminster, where her body lies, three priests to pray for her perpetually? She whom I have many times heard say that if the Christian princes would have warred upon the enemies of His faith, she would be glad to follow the host and help wash their clothes for the love of Jesus? She who openly witnessed this same thing at the hour of her death (which saying diverse persons here present can record). How heartily she answered, when the Holy Sacrament containing the Blessed Jesus was held before her, and the question asked of her whether she believed that *there* was verily the Son of God Who suffered His Blessed Passion for her and for all mankind upon the Cross, many here can bear record how with all her heart and soul she raised her body to make answer thereto, and confessed assuredly that in the Sacrament was contained Christ Jesus the Son of God Who died for wretched sinners upon the Cross, in Whom wholly she put her trust and confidence. And thus, soon after she was anealed, she departed and yielded up her spirit into the hands of our Lord.

Who may not now take evident likelihood and conjecture upon this, that the soul of this noble woman, which so studiously in her life was occupied in good works and with a fast faith in Christ and the Sacraments of His Church, was defended in that hour of departure from the body, was borne up into the country above with the blessed angels deputed and ordained to that holy mystery? For if the hearty prayer of many persons, if her own continual prayer in her lifetime, if the Sacraments of the Church orderly taken, if indulgences and pardons granted by diverse Popes, if true repentance and tears, if pity for the poor, if forgiveness of injuries, or if good works be available, as doubtless



Christ's College, about 1688. After Loggan.

they be (great likelihood and almost certain conjecture), we may take by them and all these that so it is indeed.

Thus spoke Bishop Fisher of Henry VII's mother. It will be noted how sure the Bishop is of her heavenly reward, whereas his plea for Henry VII's eternal salvation rested on the repentant spirit of the dead King's last days.

CHAPTER V

DEAN COLET'S FIERY SERMON AT ST. PAUL'S

LADY MARGARET'S eulogy was the last nationally famous sermon of Bishop Fisher until his first speech of opposition to Cardinal Wolsey in the Westminster Synod of 1518. However, it was in this year, 1509, that Fisher had his Commentaries on the Penitential Psalms published. It was a well-printed little book with the following introduction: "This treatise concerning the fruitful sayings of David the King and Prophet in the seven Penitential Psalms, divided in Seven Sermons, was made and compiled by the Right Reverend Father in God, John Fisher, Doctor of Divinity, and Bishop of Rochester, at the exhortation and stirring of the most excellent Princess Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and mother to our Sovereign Lord King Henry VII."

Many parts of the book are worthy of comment, but the most significant and widely quoted passage is that dealing with true Christianity among priests, as follows:

As St. Paul witnesses, saying, "Our joy is the testimony of a clean conscience," such joy without doubt shone more brightly in the poor Apostles than do now our clothes of silk, and golden cups. Truly, it was a more glorious sight

to see St. Paul, who got his living by his own great labor in hunger, thirst, watchings, in cold, going woolward, and bearing about the Gospel and law of Christ both on the sea and on the land, than to behold now the archbishops and bishops in their apparel—be it never so rich. In that time were no chalices of gold, but then were many golden priests; now be many chalices of gold, but almost no golden priests. Truly, neither gold, precious stones, nor glorious bodily garments can be the cause wherefore kings and princes of the world should dread God and His Church; for, doubtless, they have far more worldly riches than we have.

But holy doctrine, good life and example of honest conversation are the occasions whereby good and holy men (also wicked and cruel people) are moved to love and fear Almighty God. The holy Apostles were glorious not by gold or silver, silk or precious stones, but only by their virtues. St. Peter said, "I have neither gold nor silver." Notwithstanding, in the Name of Christ he made a lame man to go, and raised from death to life a dead woman. St. Paul in like manner, who had no worldly riches but got his living with his own sore labor, made whole one that was born lame into this world, and delivered another who was vexed with a wicked spirit, by calling upon the same Name Jesu.

Such was the temper of the spiritual warrior who was destined to become one of England's greatest saints. The commentaries, a collection of sermons on the Penitential Psalms as preached by Fisher in the bleak years at the turn of the sixteenth century when storm and stress were in the air and a great foreboding of impending evil held all Christendom enthralled, were like a light in the darkness. They are the last positive glimpse we get

of Fisher until his attendance at the 1512 Convocation at St. Paul's, when he gratefully listened to a sermon by his friend Dean Colet, prior to his own denunciation of the Legate Wolsey's pride and vanity in 1518.

Dean Colet's sermon, because of its obvious influence on Bishop Fisher's trend of thought, cannot be passed by without mention. The King in 1512 was about to make a treaty with the Pope and accordingly sent a royal mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury to summon a convocation of his province to meet in St. Paul's Cathedral on February 6, 1512. The Archbishop charged Dean Colet with the duty of preaching the sermon of the day for the purpose of extirpating heresy in England.

St. Paul's was, of course, the center of worship in the London metropolis and was continually filled with pious throngs attending mass in the morning and vespers in the evening, praying at shrines (particularly of the Blessed Virgin). On the morning that Dean Colet delivered his sermon, the cathedral was filled with distinguished bishops and prelates. Hence there was a feeling of surprise when the dean began as follows:

You are come together today, fathers and right wise men, to hold a council, in which what you will do, and what matters you will handle, I do not yet know; but I wish that, at length, mindful of your name and profession, you would consider of the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs; for, never was it more necessary, and never did the state of the Church more need your endeavors. For the Church—the

Spouse of Christ—which He wished to be without spot or wrinkle, is become foul and deformed. As says Isaias, “The faithful city is become a harlot”; and as Jeremias speaks, “She has committed fornication with many lovers,” whereby she has conceived many seeds of iniquity and daily brings forth the foulest offspring. Wherefore I have come here today, fathers, to admonish you with all your minds to deliberate, in this your council, concerning the reformation of the Church.

He told how he had been commanded to speak by Archbishop Warham and, after quoting the words of St. Paul, “Be ye not conformed to this world; but be reformed in the newness of your mind, that you may prove what is the good and the acceptable and the perfect will of God,” he spoke of the pride of life and the lust of the flesh. He said:

As to the second worldly evil, which is the lust of the flesh, has not this vice, I ask, inundated the Church as with the flood of its lust, so that nothing is more carefully sought after, in these most troublesome times, by the most part of priests, than that which ministers to sensual pleasure? They give themselves up to feasting and banqueting; spend themselves in vain babbling, take part in sports and plays, devote themselves to hunting and hawking; are drowned in the delights of this world; patronise those who cater for their pleasure. It was against this kind of people that Jude the Apostle exclaimed, “Woe unto them. For they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core. These are spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear; clouds they are without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withers—

without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots; raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness forever."

On and on Colet went, but Fisher's attention had been turned to the faces of the other bishops in the cathedral. Some were red with indignation; others were trying to appear bored; and still others were nervously twitching round in their seats. Very few besides himself seemed to be relishing the sermon. Fisher smiled to himself. It was good. Certainly, if the sermon could get under the skins of some of them, it would be for the good of the Church. He wondered in his own mind how Colet picked up the courage to speak like this before all the assembled bishops; but, that was Colet. And Fisher thought to himself how wonderful it was, and if the day came when he himself should speak. . . . He suddenly realized that he was missing some of the sermon, so he concentrated again on what Colet was saying:

The laity themselves are scandalized and driven to ruin, when those whose duty it is to draw men from this world, teach men to love this world by their own devotion to worldly things, and by their love of this world are carried down headlong into hell. Besides, when priests themselves are thus entangled, it must end in hypocrisy; for, mixed up and confused with the laity, they lead, under a priestly exterior, the mere life of a layman. Also their spiritual weakness and servile fear, when enervated by the waters of this world, make them dare neither to do nor say anything but what they know will be grateful and pleasing to their princes.

By this time the murmur of dissent from the congregation was not only audible; it threatened to rise to such a pitch as to drown out the voice of the preacher. Colet's words were harsh words to any priests who were not going about their Father's business as their Father would have them do. But being, for the most part, vain men, they did not welcome reproach by anybody, even by one of higher rank, much less by one of lower. But Dean Colet had been commissioned to preach and, nothing daunted, he continued in a strong voice, loudly and clearly:

In these times also we experience much opposition from the laity, but they are not so opposed to us as we are to ourselves. Nor does their opposition do us so much harm as the opposition of our own wicked lives, which are opposed to God and to Christ; for He said, "He that is not with Me is against Me." We are troubled in these days also by heretics—men mad with strange folly—but this heresy of theirs is not so pestilential and pernicious to us and the people as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy, which, if we may believe St. Bernard, is a species of heresy and the greatest and most pernicious of all. For that holy father, preaching in a certain convocation to the priests of his time, in his sermon spoke in these words: "There are many who are Catholic in their speaking and preaching who are very heretics in their actions, for what heretics do by their false doctrines, these men do by their evil examples: they seduce the people and lead them into error of life, and they are by so much worse than heretics as actions are stronger than words." These things said Bernard, that holy father of so great and ardent spirit, against the faction of wicked priests

of his time; by which words he plainly shows that there be two kinds of heretical depravity: one of perverse doctrine, the other of perverse living—of which the latter is the greater and more pernicious; and this reigns in the Church, to the miserable destruction of the Church, her priests living after a worldly and not after a priestly fashion. Wherefore do you fathers, you priests, and all you of the clergy, awake at length and rise up from this your sleep in this forgetful world; and being awake, at length, listen to Paul calling to you, "Be ye not conformed to this world!" . . . Let the laws be rehearsed concerning the due distribution of the patrimony of Christ—laws which command that the goods of the Church be spent not in sumptuous buildings, not in magnificence and pomp, not in feasts and banquets, not in luxury and lust, not in enriching kinsfolk nor in keeping hounds, but in things useful and needful to the Church. For when he was asked by Augustine the English Bishop, in what way English bishops and prelates should dispose of those goods which were the offerings of the faithful, Pope Gregory replied (and his reply is placed in the Decretals, Chapter XII, question 2) that the goods of bishops should be divided into four parts, of which one part should go to the bishop and his family, another to his clergy, a third for repairing buildings, a fourth to the poor.

Dean Colet continued in like strain to the close of his sermon. When it was concluded, Bishop Fisher was one of the few who rushed forward to congratulate the preacher. Most of the bishops were chagrined and angered by the dean's outspoken words and admonitions.

For this sermon and other imagined slights, Bishop Fitzjames of London charged the dean with heresy. But Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, sorely tried though



John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's.

he himself had been by the dean's sermon, dismissed the charge of heresy as absurd, saying he had been advised in the matter by the most learned theologian and holy bishop in all England, John Fisher of Rochester.

Dean Colet's sermon thus early, in 1512, gave warning, though unconsciously, of the storm that was to sweep all Christendom like a plague. If the English bishops had followed Colet's advice and had conformed their lives to the teachings of the Church and reformed themselves, England might have been spared.

CHAPTER VI

CARDINAL WOLSEY

THE YEARS following King Henry VIII's accession to the throne of England were quiet years for Bishop Fisher as he went about his daily routine, but in his mind was growing an apprehension of the part that Thomas Wolsey would play in the downfall of England's Christianity. Wolsey, ordained at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four and at the same time as Fisher, advanced under King Henry. Fisher recalled the dread Lady Margaret had of Wolsey and how she warned her grandson (Henry VIII) to place his trust in Fisher rather than in Wolsey. But Fisher saw Wolsey become royal almoner, dean of Hereford, dean of York, and dean of Westminster in rapid succession. Fisher attended Wolsey's consecration as bishop of Lincoln in 1512 and saw him receive the pallium as archbishop of York in 1514.

There was no evidence of grief on Wolsey's part when he succeeded the late renowned Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge as York's archbishop even though the Cardinal had been murdered shortly after winning a remarkable victory at Ferrara for the Pope. Fisher, for his part, declared a month of mourning and said mass

daily for thirty days for the repose of Bainbridge's soul. Although Bainbridge was a diplomat and a warrior, whereas Fisher was a man of frankness and peace, yet after all, he had been a cardinal in the Church, a legate of King Henry VIII, and archbishop of the second ranking see in England.

But Wolsey had other things in mind besides mourning for a deceased cardinal. On the fifth of August he took over the temporalities of his archbishopric, and within a week he had King Henry send a personal note to Pope Leo X, asking for the red hat for Wolsey. The Pope refused. But Wolsey was set upon becoming a cardinal. Why not? Was he not Henry's right-hand man, and was not Henry the king of England? If Bainbridge had been a cardinal, why should Wolsey not be one likewise?

In the twilight darkness of his library, Fisher used to gaze out on the slowly moving stream below a glazed window and watch the red and golden color of the leaves on the trees in the glory of autumn. As he gazed, it often occurred to him how wonderful nature is and how the order of nature is preserved according to the eternal will of God, while men frequently place their own wills against God's will and thus disrupt the gentle scheme of things. This new Archbishop, for instance, was no precious gem in the heavenly crown of joy for the Church, but might well prove a thorn in the Church's crown of sorrow.

Yet, in all fairness to Wolsey, it must be said that he

was the greatest statesman of the sixteenth century. He waged war in a very adept manner, although he himself never went to war. It was through war that Wolsey would receive the coveted red hat. All during the months that Fisher was praying for peace, eternal, lasting peace, Wolsey was urging King Henry to wage war on France (the old King Louis XII being on the French throne). In a haphazard way, King Henry had been making war on France to England's disadvantage, but to the advantage of the Papal States. When Louis died and was succeeded by Francis I in January of 1515, the need for protection against the French was felt by Pope Leo X more than ever; again an appeal was sent to England for help, and again Wolsey urged King Henry to wage war on France.

In August, 1515, Francis was on the march to Milan to take the fortress built there by the late Louis XII, but subsequently seized by the Milanese. So, on September 10, in great haste, Pope Leo X created Wolsey a cardinal, Cardinal-priest of St. Cecilia in Trastevere.

Three days later, Francis was fighting furiously and most competently outside Marignano, while Wolsey was still in England. In the Battle of the Giants, Francis won. But Wolsey was saying, at the very moment of French victory, that Francis would never wage such a war; for, if he did, he would be defeated. And two weeks after the battle was over, King Henry refused to believe that it had been fought. Hence, for nothing, Wolsey had received the red hat after all.

As cardinal, Wolsey was ready to show the world magnificence such as it had never seen before. He furnished Hampton Court with the most sumptuous of finery. For himself he ordered a half dozen new cassocks made of brilliant scarlet and crimson, of satin and taffeta and damask; and over all of them, tippets of fine sable.

On October 7, the secretary of Bishop Giglis (the Italian bishop of Worcester and Wolsey's personal representative in Rome) set out from Rome with the hat, a ring of great value from the Pope, as well as a plenary indulgence for all those who would take part in the bestowal ceremonies. On November 15, this special envoy entered London amid great pomp and splendor. Prelates and guildsmen alike joined in the welcome. Banners of all descriptions floated from houses and public buildings. Church bells pealed forth their jubilation. At Westminster Abbey, the red hat was piously received by the Abbot and by eight assistant prelates and taken in state to the high altar.

On a Tuesday it had arrived. On Sunday, Wolsey proceeded in solemn grandeur from his palace to Westminster Abbey to hear mass sung by Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, with Bishop Fox acting as deacon of the mass, and Bishop Ruthal acting as subdeacon. Bishop Fisher was the new Cardinal's crosier-bearer. Practically every English bishop and prelate, as well as the royal family and retinue, attended.

The preacher chosen for the occasion was Dean Colet. He opened his sermon with an explanation of the mean-

ing of the term "cardinal." He told what high honor attached to the office and gave the official reasons why the hat was granted to Wolsey (alluding to Wolsey's merits and the desire of the Pope to show, in conferring such an honor on one of the King of England's dearest prelates, what great affection the Pope held for the King and people of England). Colet compared cardinals to the angelic order of seraphim, who burn with love of the glorious Trinity.

And then, turning to Wolsey who was gloating in this elevation of his dignity before the awe-inspired laity, Dean Colet, addressed the new Cardinal directly and said: "Let not one in so proud a position, made most illustrious by the dignity of such an honor, be puffed up by its greatness. But remember that our Savior, in His own person, said to His disciples, 'I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister,' and 'He who is least among you shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven,' and, again, 'He who exalts himself shall be humbled, and he who humbles himself shall be exalted.'" And then directly hitting at the new Cardinal's leaning toward the wealthy and his tendency to pass those laws which would be for the good of the employer and to the evil of the employee, Colet continued, "My Lord Cardinal, be glad, and enforce yourself always to do and execute righteousness to rich and poor, with mercy and truth."

With the sermon ended, the red hat was placed on the new Cardinal's head by Archbishop Warham, and the *Te Deum* was sung. Surrounded by nobility, Wolsey

left the Abbey and went in a most extraordinary procession to his palace, where he entertained King Henry and Queen Catherine of England and Queen Mary of France and all the nobility, all the clergy, all the barons of the Exchequer, all the judges, and even all the sergeants-at-law. Wolsey was cardinal, the only cardinal in England.

Within five weeks (on December 22, 1515) Archbishop Warham, Lord Chancellor of England because of his primatial see of Canterbury, handed over the great seal to King Henry, for him to grant to Cardinal Wolsey. The same day Parliament was dissolved. For the next eight years, Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England, ruled England without a Parliament, without regard for the King's Council and without much regard for the King.

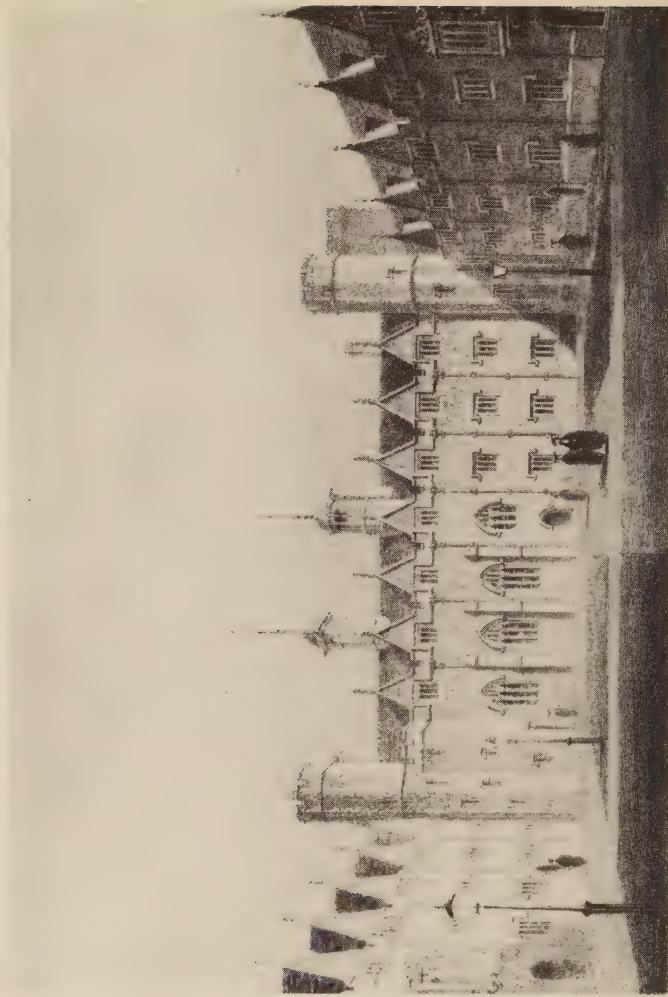
Meanwhile Bishop Fisher received the first reports of the revolt that was starting in Germany. As Chancellor of Cambridge University, Fisher received the news of the Continent as quickly as any person in England, and the news was not of a type to comfort him; for nobody knew better than he the evils which the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had brought to the sixteenth.

Despite the plenitude of saints (Bernadine of Siena, Catharine of Bologna, Margaret of Savoy, Frances of Rome, Francis of Paula, Lorenzo Giustiniani, John Capistran, and Jacopo della Marca) and despite the outward appearances of piety and culture (the crucifixes, paintings, statues, vigil lamps, the widespread use of Latin

missals by the laity as well as by the clergy, the large attendance at passion plays and mystery plays, the founding of orphanages and free schools and hospitals), Fisher knew that cynicism and moral corruption were growing in the sixteenth century because of the evil seeds planted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Accordingly he was frightened when in 1517 he first heard of the Augustinian friar, Martin Luther, who was uttering strange doctrine at the University of Wittenberg. Bad as were the morals of the clergy at home, there was no open departure from the doctrine of the Church, no disagreement such as this Luther seemed to be preaching to his students. But Fisher knew that doctrine such as Luther's might destroy the faith of the good people who were beginning to be outspoken in their criticism of the clergy.

Fisher made arrangements with traveling merchants to have the full records of Luther's preaching brought to him in England that he might study them. The first definite report reaching Fisher shortly before Christmas, 1517, was to the effect that Luther had challenged the preaching of the indulgences granted to those who fulfilled the usual requirements and in addition made an offering of alms for the rebuilding of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome (the old one, built by Constantine, having now started to crumble). Fisher learned that Friar Luther had defied Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg, who was allowing the preaching in Germany and who had appointed a Dominican friar named Tetzel as



The Second Court of St. John's College. From a sketch made in 1841. A more modern building than Fisher built, of course.

the chief preacher. When Luther heard of Tetzel's coming to preach in Wittenberg, on the eve of All Saints' Day he dramatically nailed ninety-five theses of protest and denunciation on the doors of the castle-church of the town. Reading the theses, Fisher murmured to his secretary: "This monk denies the most fundamental thing of all: free will."

Fisher was worried about the trend of events on the Continent. But he knew that as long as Cardinal Campeggio, the distinguished member of the Roman Curia who later became the papal legate to England, opposed the preaching, England would not be touched with revolt on that score. John Fisher was a trusting soul and still believed that the Pope would have his way. The Pope himself thought so. But King Henry and Wolsey knew that such was not the case. In England, Henry was king. Campeggio was not to be a legate *a latere* for England, unless Wolsey also was. This meant, in effect, that Campeggio would have to play second fiddle to Wolsey, and the only real papal legate in England would be Thomas Wolsey.

Wolsey was already running affairs of state in England without interference from the King, who did as Wolsey wished, even though sometimes unwittingly, because Wolsey was always suave in his dealings with the King. Henry believed Wolsey to be his best friend. Therefore, at Wolsey's suggestion, the King requested that Wolsey be appointed legate. The Pope refused. But the Turkish danger changed the papal refusal.

The Turks had taken Syria and Egypt, were daily threatening Rhodes, swarmed the Mediterranean Sea, and were sweeping the coast from Pisa to Terracina. At one time they boldly plundered the Church at Loreto and at another time they daringly sailed up the Tiber to threaten the life of the Pope himself when he was staying at Pali. The King of Hungary, Ladislaus VI, died; and with a twelve-year-old king on the throne, the Hungarian power of resistance was weak. England had heard the cry, "Beware the approach of the Turks!" so often that she sent no help when the cry expressed the reality. Thus the Turks captured the European city of Constantinople and gathered for the purpose of invading the rest of Europe.

After solemn mass on the eve of St. Patrick's Day, 1517, Pope Leo set forth the details of a new crusade to drive the Turks from Europe. An army of sixty thousand men was to be raised, to be paid for by gold at the rate of one-tenth the value of the estates of all Christendom. Every king and nobleman in Europe was to take part personally in the crusade. Not only were the Turks to be driven out of Europe, but they were to be wiped off the face of the earth. Pope Leo was enthusiastic over the idea and, to give a papal touch to the campaign, sent legates to the leading sovereigns of Christendom. This gave Wolsey his chance. Though the legate sent to France (Cardinal Bibiena) was welcomed by King Francis with great ceremony, King Henry of England, on receiving letters from his am-

bassador in Rome that Cardinal Campeggio was to be the legate for England, said: "It is not the rule of this realm to admit legates *a latere*." However, he wrote to the Pope that an exception might be made to the general English rule which prohibited foreign cardinals from acting as legates *a latere*, provided that all those faculties usually conceded *de jure* to legates would be suspended and that Wolsey be granted equal authority with Campeggio. The campaign was too important for Leo to refuse Henry's request. Wolsey was granted legatine powers along with Campeggio.

Cardinal Campeggio reached Calais in June, 1518, and intended going over to England at once as legate *a latere* (although junior in rank to Wolsey). Campeggio was haughty and proud, but a man of honesty and of religious purpose. He felt he had a high commission in acting as the personal representative of the Pope. Fisher at Rochester also thought so and made preparations to greet the Legate as though he were the Pope himself. But King Henry was not quite so impressed. He ordered Campeggio to stay at Calais until Pope Leo deprived Cardinal Hadrian, an enemy of Wolsey and out of favor with Leo, of all rights. After a month, Leo complied; Campeggio, humiliated, was then allowed to enter England. That was Henry VIII's first snub to Christendom: he, a Christian king, delayed the entrance of a papal legate into his kingdom. Fisher prayed in his Rochester cathedral for intelligence for the ruling minds of England, prayed that the Holy Ghost would give

light to those who dwelt in high places, prayed that the star that shone in Bethlehem over peace and love and joy would shine again—this time over England.

It was not until July 23 that Campeggio landed at Deal, to be met by the Bishop of Chichester and Lords Abergavenny and Cobham, together with their retinues, and led to Sandwich. The next day the Legate reached Canterbury. There he was received by the corporation of the town and conducted to the cathedral gates where Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher and the Abbots of St. Augustine and Faversham, together with the Priors of Christ Church and St. Gregory's, welcomed him in full pontificals. After liturgical prayers and the papal blessing, Campeggio went in solemn procession to the holy shrine of St. Thomas, where he was incensed and sprinkled with holy water. He spent that night at the Abbey of St. Augustine and stayed there through Sunday. On Monday he set out for Sittingbourne, attended by a cavalcade of five hundred horsemen. Seven o'clock in the evening found him at Bexley where he spent the night. On Tuesday he was given a sumptuous dinner by Bishop Fisher at Rochester. Then he went on to Otford, attended by the Archbishop and a thousand golden-armored horsemen, to Lewisham and to Blackheath where the Duke of Norfolk, the bishops of Durham and Ely, the Earl of Surrey, and Lords Darcy and Abergavenny gave him royal welcome. Finally, as the grand climax of the reception, two miles outside of London a tent of cloth of gold was ready for the procession

of welcome, in which the whole noble assembly was enwrapped, as it were, in grandeur.

With the clerics all dressed in ecclesiastical red, with the cross, pillars, and pole-axes preceding him, Cardinal Legate Campeggio passed in solemn procession through cordons of laity, monks, and members of the clergy who, lining the way from St. George's Church to London Bridge, sang hymns to show the ecclesiastical aspect of the ceremonies as well as the civil. There was incensing and blessing with holy water, the kissing of the relics of saints, the deafening salvos of artillery from the Tower and the forts along the river, and the pealing of bells in the belfries of every parish church and abbey and priory, climaxed by the bass-toned welcome of old St. Paul's. In what was known as Gracious Street the city companies of London took their places in the procession, leading it to Cheapside where the Legate was welcomed by the Lord Mayor and the aldermen, while Sir Thomas More delivered an official address of welcome in the best Latin that England has ever heard in a public address. It was Campeggio's first impression of Thomas More, who, with Fisher, was destined to show the light of sanctity in England while the rest of the country was being enveloped in the darkness of political expediency. Then the Legate went to St. Paul's Cathedral to be welcomed by the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Lincoln, and was conducted to the high altar. That was the climax; the Legate of the Pope had arrived at the high altar of the center of faith in England.

After the ceremonies, Campeggio went to Bath Place and there took lodging. Although neither King Henry nor Wolsey attended this great welcome, it was not from jealousy or spite (since Wolsey paid for the whole affair); but both the King and his Chancellor were afraid of crowds because of the danger of contracting the sweating-sickness (of which disease, it will be remembered, Prince Arthur had died).

At Greenwich, on Tuesday the third of August, both Campeggio and Wolsey met King Henry officially. They went to the upper end of the reception-room, Wolsey as senior legate walking at Henry's right, and Campeggio as the junior legate walking at the King's left. Wolsey spoke first. Then Campeggio told of the objects of his mission: the desire of His Holiness the Pope to spread the faith of Christ among the pagans of the world, to preserve the safety of those already Christian from the onslaughts of the Turks: these objects to be obtained only if Christian sovereigns, like the King of England, joined in the crusade already made known to them. One of the King's henchmen named Taylor, speaking in the King's behalf, replied that the King of England did not need to be reminded of his duty by the Pope or by anybody else. Shortly after this curt reply, the King and the legates left the room. Such was Campeggio's brief hour, until Henry VIII would seek divorce from his wife Catherine. Although Campeggio was invited to all court functions thereafter, Wolsey was the legate who wielded the power in England.

Shortly after this, Bishop Fisher, who disliked all these functions and attended them only because he was a member of the King's Privy Council and felt that his duty as a good Englishman was to obey the King in all things not contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, wished to visit the Pope and Rome, the center of Christendom. He had never been to Rome and he dearly wished to make at least one visit to the Eternal City, having been hindered on two previous occasions by affairs of state. Now, in 1518, he was ready to sail for Rome at long last.

But again he was balked by Wolsey's calling a synod. At first Fisher thought the synod was for some great need of the Church; but soon the fact was evident that Wolsey called it for no other purpose than to declare, in a formal way, that he was the Pope's Legate and the chief prelate in England. Having put off a visit to Rome to attend this synod, Fisher was dismayed when he heard the vain motives that had prompted its convocation. This was the last straw; Fisher broke his long silence concerning Wolsey's insolent arrogance and uttered the first trumpet-blasts of righteous rebuke.

Looking at Wolsey seated in all splendor in what he called his pontifical seat in the cathedral, Fisher asked for the privilege of speech before the Cardinal Legate and the assembled prelates and priests. It was readily granted, and Fisher began to speak. Discreetly but directly, he reproved the ambition and incontinency of the clergy, employing many of the apt phrases which



Pope Leo X. From a picture by Raphael. The figure by the chair is his nephew, afterwards Clement VII.

land, a man given over to majesty and pomp. It may not go well with him that I who am but a poor priest and one of the least of the theologians of the Church should thiswise rebuke him who is my ecclesiastical Lord-Father in God, but, none-the-less, I dare put him in mind that it stands better with the modesty of such a High Pastor as he is to eschew all worldly vanity, especially in this perilous time, and by humility to make himself conformable and like the image of God.

Then, turning to the other bishops present, Fisher continued:

For in this trade of life, neither can there be any likelihood of perpetuity with safety of conscience, neither yet any security of the clergy to continue, but such plain and imminent dangers are like to ensue as never were tasted or heard of before our days. For what should we exhort our flocks to eschew and shun worldly ambition, when we ourselves that are bishops do wholly set our minds to the same things we forbid in them? What example of Christ our Savior do we imitate, who first executed doing, and after fell to teaching? If we teach according to our doing, how absurd may our doctrine be accounted! If we teach one thing and do another, our labor in teaching shall never benefit our flocks half so much as our examples in doing shall hurt them. Who can willingly suffer and bear with us, in whom (preaching humility, sobriety and contempt of the world) they may evidently perceive haughtiness in mind, pride in gesture, sumptuousness in apparel, and damnable excess in all worldly delicacies?

Truly, most reverend fathers, what this vanity in temporal things effects in you, I know not. But sure I am that in myself I perceive a great impediment to devotion, and so

have felt for a long time. For sundry times, when I have settled and fully bent myself to the care of my flock committed unto me, to visit my diocese, to govern my church and to answer the enemies of Christ, straightways has come a messenger for one cause or other, sent from higher authority, by whom I have been called to other business and so left off my former purpose. And thus, by tossing and going this way and that way, time has passed, and in the meanwhile nothing done but attending after triumphs, receiving of ambassadors, haunting of princes' courts, and such like, whereby great expenses arise that might better be spent many other ways.

The Bishop concluded by stating that he had dearly desired to go at least once to Rome and pray at the tombs of SS. Peter and Paul, and have audience with the Holy Father of Christendom, but he had always been put off by the empty pageantry of princes or some such synod as this. When Fisher finished, Wolsey summarily disbanded the assembly, and the synod was at an end.

It was the first break between Wolsey and Fisher. From then on, the struggle was destined to grow more intense. The bishops were rather impressed by Fisher's sermon and admitted his right to preach it, but it was to make no more lasting impression on them than had Colet's sermon. The only one who would remember the sermon for many years to come was Cardinal Wolsey. It went against the grain to be subjected to such scorching criticism at the very first synod which he called as Cardinal Legate of England. The more Wolsey pondered the matter, the more angry he became.

"Does not the Bishop of Rochester know it is against the Canon Law of the Church to attack a cardinal in firm communion with the Holy See?" He called on several theologians to see what he could do about it; but they advised him not to do anything. They knew Wolsey's private life and they knew Fisher's; the latter's was without any taint of corruption; while the less said about Wolsey's life, the better. But Wolsey was adamant. He desired satisfaction and wrote to Rome. Rome did not reply. Fisher was never censured.

Defeated in his purpose of visiting Rome, Bishop Fisher settled down to the affairs of his diocese. As news kept coming from Germany, he grew more and more interested in the teachings of Friar Luther. Much that Luther charged concerning the prelates of the time and the international banking firm of Fuggers was so evidently true that Fisher realized Luther would have a large audience for his mixture of false doctrine with sound denunciations. In many ways, Luther was obviously wrong, as when he denied the spiritual authority of the pope, denied the sacrifice of the mass, denied the canonicity of the Epistle of St. James, and finally denied the sacredness of holy orders.

In the quiet of his library, Fisher began to write a book, which later was issued under the title "Defence of the Sacred Priesthood against Luther." In it he refuted the various Lutheran theses as they came to him from the battlegrounds in Germany. While Dr. John Eck was publicly refuting Luther in a series of debates at

Leipsic before Duke George of Saxony, Fisher was reaching the same conclusions as Eck in the privacy of his episcopal home.

An English merchant just back from Wittenberg reported to Fisher that Luther had declared in a public sermon: "Be certain and never let yourself be persuaded to the contrary, if you wish to hold pure Christian truth, that there is no visible and external priesthood in the New Testament, except what Satan has set up through human lies. Sacrificing masses have been invented to insult the Lord's Testament, therefore nothing in the whole world is so much to be avoided and detested. It is better to be a public bawd or robber than a priest of this sort." Fisher wrote in his book: "O God, who can patiently hear such impious falsehoods cast upon the mysteries of Christ? Who can read such blasphemies without bitter grief and tears if he has but the least spark of Christian piety in his breast?"

On many points Fisher agreed with Luther, and because of his honesty in daring to voice his opinions openly, he gained disfavor with many of the clergy. This disfavor was shared by Thomas More and Erasmus, both of whom thought that Luther, even though his theology was wrong, had many grievances. The issue came to a head at the turn of the year 1519 when Erasmus, while not agreeing with Luther's hysteria, agreed with his condemnation of reprehensible conduct among laymen and priests. Bishop Fisher, Dean Colet, and Sir Thomas More praised Erasmus for his stand;

but, with the exception of Archbishop Warham (who remained noncommittal in the matter), the rest of the clergy and nobility in England condemned Erasmus for his stand.

Despairing of Bishop Fisher and Dean Colet, some English monks felt obliged to write to Thomas More warning him to watch out lest he be infected with the poison emanating from the pen of Erasmus; they pointed in particular to Erasmus' statement that the holy doctors and fathers of the Church were fallible in their pronouncements. More replied, indignantly challenging the idea of there being any poison in Erasmus' pen and pointing out that the New Testament as revised by Erasmus had been sanctioned by the Pope himself and that Erasmus was a friend of the greatest men of all the countries of Europe. As for the fallibility of the Church fathers, More wrote:

Do you deny that they ever made mistakes? I put it to you —when Augustine thought that Jerome had mistranslated a passage, and Jerome defended what he had done, was not one of the two mistaken? When Augustine, in support of his view, adduced the story of the wonderful agreement of the different translations produced by the inspired translators writing in separate cells, and Jerome regarded the story as absurd, was not one of the two mistaken? When Jerome, writing on the Epistle to the Galatians, explained the meaning of a certain passage to be that Peter was not really rebuked by Paul for dissimulating, and Augustine maintained that Peter was so rebuked, was not one of them mistaken?

Fisher read More's reply in the quiet of his Rochester library before More made the reply public. Fisher approved it, and More gave it to the world. It was the answer of brilliant but humble minds to the arrogance of not too learned but haughty minds.

That Fisher and More were justified in placing their trust in Erasmus was shown when Erasmus replied to a letter from Luther which sought Erasmus' opinion of the Lutheran booklets that were causing so much trouble in Germany. On May 30, 1519, Erasmus wrote to Luther, stating that he had not read the Lutheran pamphlets and therefore could not make any proper judgment of them, that he himself spent all his time working for the revival of good literature (including, first and foremost, the Sacred Scriptures), and it seemed to him better to be courteously modest than impetuous, since it was by humility and modesty that Jesus Christ drew the world under His influence, and it was by patience and clear preaching that Paul of Tarsus abrogated the Judaical Law. Finally, getting down to more personal matters, Erasmus added: "It is better to exclaim against abuses of Pontifical Authority than against the Popes themselves; for they are the Vicars of Christ."

In the height of his joy over Erasmus' writing, Fisher was suddenly plunged into the deepest sorrow. Dean John Colet of St. Paul's died on September 16, 1519. All day long on the day he received the news, Fisher knelt in the sanctuary of his cathedral, praying for the repose of Colet's soul, remembering to help the soul of

the faithful departed, while he wept at the loss of a friend.

Erasmus was so overcome at Colet's death that he wrote to Ambassador Pace: "I seem as though only half of me were alive, Colet being dead. What a man has England and what a friend have I lost!" And to Bishop Fisher, Erasmus wrote: "I have written this, weeping for Colet's death. I know it is all right with him who, escaped from this evil and wretched world, is in present enjoyment of that Christ whom he so loved when alive. I cannot help mourning in the public name the loss of so rare an example of Christian piety, so remarkable a preacher of Christian truth."

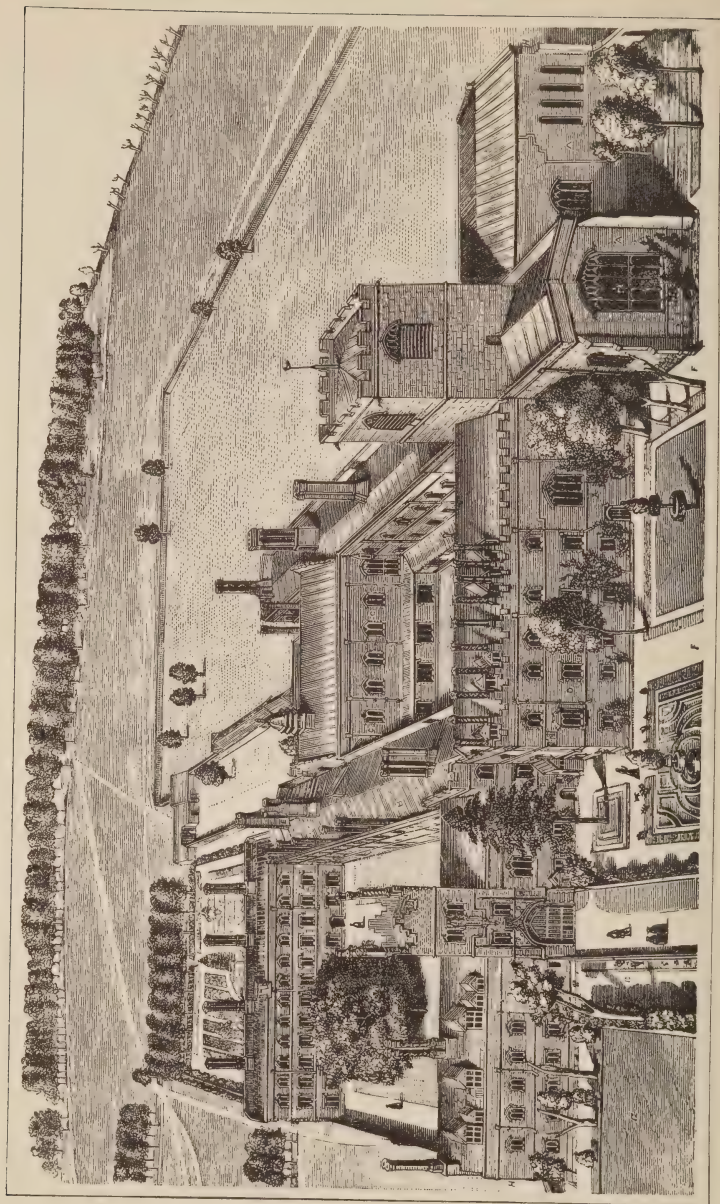
Receiving the letter from Erasmus, Bishop Fisher wept again as fully as when he first heard the news of Colet's death. He went into deep mourning, saying a month of masses for the repose of Colet's soul. All seemed desolation to Fisher in the autumn of 1519. Every leaf falling from a tree reminded the Bishop of death and sorrow as he walked through the woods near his home, his head bowed, his fingers pressing tightly his rosary beads, while his lips formed in succession the words of the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Gloria*. Poor, dear, glorious John Colet was gone.

CHAPTER VII

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH

NOW THAT Colet was gone, piety and sanctity in England were concentrated in Bishop John Fisher. Immediately after Colet's death, the more thoughtful men in England were saying, "With Colet gone, the cause of the faith is weakened; and when Fisher goes, England will be lost." In a sense, it was a true prophecy; but in another sense, it was an idle prophecy, for John Fisher was never to go entirely. Only his body would die. His soul would live in England forever, a spirit of faith and hope and love. John Fisher was destined to become St. John Fisher, St. John of England.

John Fisher did not dodge his responsibilities. He realized as well as everybody else that the Catholic faith in England depended for its maintenance on him. His rebuke to Wolsey had not made Wolsey any better. His rebuke to the other prelates had left them interested but not stirred from their souls' depth. At the very time he was getting monthly reports from Germany regarding the progress of the revolt there, he realized that most of the English prelates were not in the least concerned as to what went on outside England.



Jesus College, about 1688. After Loggan.

One of the responsibilities Fisher took upon himself was to be closer to the royal court, now that Colet, who had been one of the King's favorite preachers, was no longer present to check the advance of Wolsey, who was rapidly becoming not only the King's counselor in affairs of state but closest personal friend as well.

As his first move to check Wolsey, Fisher decided to raise the King's pride of personal achievement. The Bishop went to an English Augustinian Friar named Bernard Andre, who had achieved some reputation at the English court as a poet, and told the friar that he would bring about three great results if he would induce Henry VIII to write a book condemning Luther's heresies: (1) the Augustinian Order would be brought back into favor in the Church (after it had been disgraced by the heresies of the German Augustinian Friar Luther); (2) the heresies would be answered; (3) the King would be favored by the Holy See and, in turn, would favor those who had suggested the idea, namely, Andre and his friars. For himself, Fisher wished no honors.

King Henry heartily welcomed the friar's suggestion as a most interesting novelty. But he needed some real points to attack, because up to this time Luther's attacks had been errors so cloaked in half-truths that they were not easily to be answered by a man like King Henry. He waited for Luther to enunciate some doctrines that all Christians would recognize as erroneous, and then Henry would refute them, winning glory easily. Within a year the King got his wish. After a

retort to Cardinal Cajetan, Friar Martin Luther had refused to retract his denial of papal authority and consequently had incurred excommunication from the Church. At first the papal bull of excommunication did not seem important, because everybody believed that Luther was already outside the Church. But the bull was the outward declaration of war. After publicly burning it with dramatic display, Luther abandoned all moderation. In 1520, in a treatise entitled *De captivitate Babylonica*, he declared that four of the sacraments (confirmation, holy orders, extreme unction, and matrimony) were so called only by the pope's ordinance (*de jure positivo*), while the other three sacraments (baptism, Holy Eucharist, and penance) were of divine origin (*de jure divino et evangelii*). On April 21, 1521, King Henry finished reading Luther's treatise, and a month later wrote to Pope Leo, expressing his fervent desire to help in the suppression of the Lutheran heresy. In this letter he said he was working on a book against Luther, the first book he had ever written, and he wished the privilege of dedicating it to Leo, Christ's vicar on earth. Three months later the book was ready. It was shown to Cardinal Wolsey and to Bishop Fisher; both approved it.

Consequently Wolsey wrote to Dr. John Clarke at Rome directing him to deliver a copy of it privately to Pope Leo and, if the Pope approved, to have the book presented to the Pope formally in a consistory and to have its approbation proclaimed with papal authority.

Clarke presented a copy, bound with cloth of gold, to the Pope, who read the book through with demonstrative signs of approval, remarking (in what Clarke thought was a favorable manner, but which might not have been): "Had we not seen it, we would not have thought such a book could have come from the King's Grace." And Clarke drew the Pope's attention to two Latin verses which Henry had inscribed with his own hand at the front of the book, the book that Henry had entitled *Assertio septum sacramentorum*. The verses read:

*Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
Hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitiae.*

Although the Pope liked the book and asked for several more copies and gave one of them to Cardinal Campeggio, who expressed pleasure at receiving a copy of the "King's golden book," Leo tactfully declined to have the book presented in a consistory of cardinals. He deigned to receive the book solemnly in the hall where the consistories were held, in the presence of about twenty prelates who happened to be standing about at the time. After hearing Clarke praise the King of England as a loyal son of the Church who in the defense of the Church took up not only arms but the pen as well, the Pope bestowed upon Henry VIII the title *Fidei Defensor* (Defender of the Faith). Little did the Pope realize that he was bestowing upon the English sovereigns a glorious and perpetual title which would

be so incongruous when used by Henry's heretical successors.

Like Pope Leo, Bishop Fisher never dreamed that Henry would ever apostatize from the faith and consequently he was delighted at the way the Pope had commended the King for his book. As late as November, 1521, Fisher in his sermons made reference to the King's book, particularly to the stirring passage which read:

St. Jerome shows clearly what judgment he formed of the authority of the Roman See, since, though he was not himself a Roman, yet he openly declares that it is enough for him if the Pope of Rome approves his faith, whoever else may find fault with it.

Now, as Luther so impudently lays down that the Pope has no right whatever over the Catholic Church, even by human law, but has acquired his tyranny by mere force, I greatly marvel that he should deem his readers so credulous or so stupid as to believe that an unarmed priest, alone and without followers—and such he must have been in Luther's supposition before he obtained the power which he invaded—could ever even have hoped to acquire such an empire, being without rights and without title, over so many bishops who were his equals, and over so many and far separated nations. Nay, more than this, how can anyone believe that all peoples, cities, provinces, and kingdoms were so prodigal of their property, their rights, and their liberty as to give to a foreign priest, to whom they owed nothing, more power than he himself ever dared to hope for? But what matters it what Luther thinks? In his anger and envy he does not know himself what he thinks, but shows that his science has been clouded and his foolish heart darkened, and that he has been given up to a reprobate sense, to do and say what is

unseemly. How true is the saying of the Apostle: "If I should have the gift of prophecy and know all mysteries and all science, and if I should have all faith so as to move mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." And how far from charity this man is, is evident from this, not only that in his madness he destroys himself, but still more that he endeavors to draw all others with him to perdition, since he strives to turn all from their obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff.

Fisher was enthusiastic over his King's allegiance to the Holy See, to the seven sacraments, particularly matrimony, and to the unity of the Church. In one place Henry had written: "Wherefore, since Luther, hurried along by his hatred, casts himself into destruction and refuses to be subject to the laws of God, setting up his own instead, let us, on the other hand, the followers of Christ, be on our guard, lest (as the Apostle says) by the disobedience of one man many be made sinners."

Fisher, the wisest man in England, thought the King had written well; but Henry's court jester, who knew how far afield from his writing were the King's personal acts, shouted in court one day to the King, "O good Harry, let you and me defend each other, and let the faith defend itself."

But the fact that Bishop Fisher was deceived by Henry's book does not lessen Fisher's importance as a champion of the truth; for Bishop Fisher was not only the inspiration for King Henry's book, but was himself the first prelate to write against Luther. There were many monks and learned theologians in Germany and Europe

who were preaching against Luther, but Fisher was the first prelate to take up the pen against the rebellious monk. Having gotten King Henry into a controversy with Luther, as will shortly be related, Bishop Fisher, with the able assistance of Thomas More, was to answer Luther's reply to the King.

Luther, upon reading Henry's *Assertio*, was furious. Up to now he had been contending only with clerics and monks. The laity, including the German knights, were favorably disposed toward Luther; but with an eminent international figure like Henry of England against him, his whole movement was in danger. Accordingly in 1522 from Luther's pen came a book written at Wittenberg. It contained such passages as the following:

The King's book has been put forth to his everlasting disgrace. . . . He was a fool for allowing his name to be abused by a parcel of empty-headed sophists, and for stuffing his book with lies and virulence, reminding the world of nothing more than of Lee or his shadow, and of such fat swine as are mewed in the sty of St. Thomas.

The Pharaoh of England, like the tyrant of old, is not without his false prophets, Jannes and Jambres. If the King had been guilty of error such as is common to men, he might have been treated with indulgence. Now that—damnable rottenness and worm as he is—he knowingly and wilfully sets himself to compose lies against the majesty of my King in heaven, it is only right that I, in the cause of my King, should bespatter his English majesty with his own mud and his own filth and tread under my feet that crowned head which thus blasphemes against Christ.

And since it is notorious that these Thomists are a dull and heavy-headed race of sophists, than whom in the whole range of human nature there is nothing more stupid and blockish, and as our good Henry wishes, in this book of his, to be reckoned a first-rate Thomist, whilst he dreams and snores, among other matters, *de charactere et vi sacramentali in aquis*—absurdities which even his brother sophists in their universities have abandoned as untenable—I have thought it right to snub and to pinch him with sharp words, and rouse him, if possible, out of his lethargy. . . . His book is a favorite with our sophisticated neighbors, for no other reason than that it is so intensely Thomistic; and asses love nettles.

The quoted passages are readable. Other passages are too vile and pointless except to give vent to the vituperation that swelled up in Luther's mind against all who disagreed with him. Opposition always infuriated him. Miserable as was his attack on Henry, the King nevertheless wished to have it answered, but did not think he himself should stoop to continue the combat with Luther. His previous answer had been as a defender of the faith. But Fisher and More, who suffered from no vanity, were ready to duel with any heretics, any oppressors. Fisher wrote five books, the three best known being entitled: *A Defence of the Assertions of the King of England against Luther's Babylonian Captivity*; *Defence of the Sacred Priesthood against Luther*; and the scholarly answers, article by article, to the articles advanced by Luther when he burned the papal bull of excommunication, these answers of Fisher being collected

under the title: *Lutheranae assertionis confutatio*. In his books Fisher used all kinds of argument and refutation, quoting freely from the writings of the Church fathers. A few of Luther's assertions and Fisher's answers follow:

Luther: The Roman Pontiff never was over all the Churches of the world; he is not now, nor ever will be, I hope. He never was over the Churches of Greece, India, Persia, Egypt, Africa, nor is he now, as he himself loudly and sadly laments.

Fisher: Why mention Churches so far off? You might have instanced Churches that we know better, as that of Bohemia and others. But we answer as to all—they withdrew themselves from obedience to the Roman Pontiff, either from malice or from pardonable ignorance. And I would rather believe it is the latter, in the case of some at least, as many of the simpler sort who are led into error by interpreters of Scripture, such as you, or perhaps have never heard any discussion at all on this matter. And such as those I would not easily condemn, if their separation is due to no depravity of their minds, and if they implicitly believe this truth also, and would believe it willingly provided they were taught it. But as to those who have separated themselves maliciously, I assert openly that they no more belong to the orthodox Church than the Churches of the Arians, the Donatists, or the like.

Luther: I shall choose my own weapons and fight with the use of the Scriptures only.

Fisher: When a public enemy invades a village he has no choice how he will fight, for all must rise up to repel him, with the first weapons that come to hand: sticks, swords, spears, arrows, or stones. Heretics are not to be admitted to

disputation with choice of weapons. The Apostle does not say, "Reject a heretic after the first and second disputation," but "after the first and second admonition." When that has been made to no effect, he is an acknowledged enemy, and we must repel his attack as we choose, not as he chooses.

Luther: Does not Paul say, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good"? And again, "If anyone bring another Gospel besides that which has been preached, let him be anathema." And St. John, "Prove the spirits whether they be of God." Therefore, that man clearly despises all those Apostolic warnings who admits all the sayings of the fathers without judgment—the judgment, I mean, of the Spirit, which is only to be found in the Holy Scriptures.

Fisher: Well spoken! Therefore, if the writings of the fathers are to be so carefully examined, who all sought after unity, how much more diligently are yours to be scrutinised who divide unity! If he who spoke contrary to St. Paul was to be anathematised, you will incur a tenfold anathema, who in so many articles differ from the universal Church. If spirits are to be proved, what kind of spirit must yours be! He would, indeed, despise the warnings of the Apostle who should give heed to your fantastic novelties, in opposition to the unanimous interpretations of the fathers, whom the Holy Ghost instructed through the Holy Scriptures.

Luther: When it is true that the Bereans searched the Scriptures to see if Paul spoke truly, how much the more must we search them to see if the fathers of the Church spoke truly.

Fisher: There is no similarity between the two cases. The Bereans heard a multitude of strange things—that the Gentiles were now admitted to grace, that the Law had ceased, the priesthood been transferred, and all this by Christ's death, whom their own nation had slain. No wonder they searched

the Scriptures, especially when St. Paul bade them do so, to see if these things were really foretold. But what then? We know for certain that we live in the last times when no change is expected; we know that the Holy Ghost resides ever in the Church. Are we then, because you propose some novelties, to set aside the consent of ages and fly to you, as if some new Spirit had descended on you? And even if the doctrine of the fathers had to be proved from Scripture, does that entitle you to pass sentence on them, you who twist Scripture as you like, and bend it like a nose of wax?

Luther: I care not a bit that they object against me the length of time that the Roman See has reigned, or the multitude and magnitude of those who conspire to support it. The world used such arguments as these against the Apostles. Yet they could not thereby put down the Gospel Truth, though but recently made known and preached but by a few rude men.

Fisher: No, surely, it was not meet that custom should prevail against the Apostles, however long established, when they confirmed what they taught by most evident miracles. So you too, Luther, if you will confirm your doctrine by evident miracles, will perhaps gain over the whole world to believe in you. But in the meantime our doctrines are so established, not only by miracles, but by the words of Christ Himself, and the concordant testimony of ancient fathers, themselves taught by the Holy Ghost, that if we hold not fast to them, we shall indeed be more fickle than the winds, "ever learning yet never attaining to the knowledge of the truth."

Luther: Is not my attitude toward the Pope and the General Councils, in rejecting their authority when it differs from my conception of the Scriptures, like that of Paul who resisted and condemned Peter?

Fisher: Everyone may not do what St. Paul did. Show me someone who is St. Paul's equal in his gifts, who has been called like him by Christ, and sent like him to instruct men; who has so great light of faith and heat of charity and superabundance of wisdom; who has been enlightened with so many revelations, and proves what he says by most evident miracles. Show me such a man, and I doubt not at all that a council will give heed to him gladly. But not so if an Arius, a Nestorius, a Macedonius, or one like them, stands out, and, according to the fancies of his own brain, twists the Scriptures contrary to the teaching of all the fathers. Certainly no Christian would bear to hear either Pope or Council called to task by such a blatant beast.

Luther condemned in a long article the practice of the Roman See assuming to itself many of the most lucrative benefices in Germany, for the upkeep of the Roman Court.

Fisher: This is what you aim at. This is the real end of all your scribbling. It is out of mere hatred of the Romans that you set about your wicked schemes. You were grieved to hear of all the troubles which the Romans inflict on your Germans; and as you cannot relieve them by other means, you leave no stone unturned either utterly to destroy, or at least to diminish, the authority of the Roman Pontiff. Yet, however dear your country may be to you, the religious life of which you have made profession obliges you to hold dearer still God and His Scriptures. But you strive in vain against God. You know the saying of Gamaliel: "If it is of God, it will stand." Yes, the Roman Church will stand, whether you will or no. You may, indeed, be the founder of a schism; for St. Paul predicted that a "revolt" would come. But woe to that man by whom the revolt comes! After

you have done all, Luther, the successor of St. Peter will remain; and if he will but endeavor to reform the morals of his court, I doubt not you will greatly repent of all you are doing.

It will be seen from the foregoing sentences that Fisher was not altogether condemnatory of Luther. He, as well as Luther, knew the evils existing at Rome, in Germany, and in England. Fisher would agree heartily with Luther's characterization of Wolsey (in a letter to Henry VIII) as "that monster: the Cardinal of York, the public detestation of God and man, the plague of your Majesty's kingdom." But Fisher would not tolerate the insinuations that the evils of any popes or cardinals or prelates could affect the essential integrity of the Church or the Roman papal authority or the sacraments themselves. So, when Luther concluded one of his invectives by saying: "Who will bring the Pope to order? Christ only, with the brightness of His coming. 'Lord, who has believed our hearing?'" Fisher was moved to answer:

There is no reason to believe your hearing, since you have heard what you say from no other than the devil. He it is who has whispered in your ears that the Pope is Anti-Christ. I do not, however, say this as if I were unwilling that the Pope or his court should be reformed, if there is anything in their life divergent from the teaching of Christ. The people speak much against them, I know not with what truth. Still, it is constantly repeated that things are so. Would then that, if there is anything amiss, they would reform themselves, and remove the scandal from the souls of the weak. For it is

greatly to be feared, unless they do so quickly, that divine vengeance will not long be delayed. It is not, however, fitting that the Emperor or lay princes should attempt such a matter, and reduce them to a more frugal mode of life. The holy Emperor Constantine taught this by his example, when he cast into the fire the accusations which bishops were bringing against one another, saying, "It is not right for me to judge the gods (meaning the bishops . . . as in Exodus: *Diis non detrahes*), for they are appointed in God's place judges amongst men." Yet I would not that the popes should trust that all other emperors will follow Constantine's example.

What Bishop Fisher had written in reply to Luther was added to by More's book, issued in 1523, which not only held to the divine institution of the pope's supremacy but also to the divine institution of the pope's deposing power. The book was written at the wish of King Henry VIII and was read by the King and approved by him before being published. It read in part:

The Rev. Father John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a man illustrious not only by the vastness of his erudition, but much more so by the purity of his life, has so opened and overthrown the assertions of Luther, that if he has any shame he would give a great deal to have burned his assertions. . . . As regards the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, the same Bishop of Rochester has made the matter so clear from the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and from the whole of the Old Testament, and from the consent of all the holy fathers, not of the Latins only, but of the Greeks also (of whose opposition Luther is wont to boast), and from the definition of a General Council, in which the Armenians and Greeks, who at that time had been most obstinately resisting, were

overcome, and acknowledged themselves overcome, that it would be utterly superfluous for me to write again on the subject.

I am moved to obedience to that See, not only by what learned and holy men have written, but by this fact especially, that we see so often that, on the one hand, every enemy of the Christian faith makes war on that See, and that, on the other hand, no one has ever declared himself an enemy of that See who has not also shortly after shown most evidently that he was the enemy of Christ and of the Christian religion.

Another thing that moves me is this, that if after Luther's manner the vices of men are to be imputed to the offices they hold, not only the papacy will fall, but royalty, and dictatorship, and consulate, and every other kind of magistracy, and the people will be without rulers, without law, and without order. . . . Most assuredly as regards the pope, God, who set him over His Church, knows how great an evil it would be to be without one. . . . Be sure, Luther, of this: God will not forsake His own Vicar. . . . You are nothing else, Luther, but the scourge of God, to the great gain of that (Roman) See, and to your own great loss.

CHAPTER VIII

WOLSEY'S AMBITION

MEANWHILE CHARLES of Hapsburg (born at Ghent in Flanders on February 24, 1500) had been elected head of the Holy Roman Empire in 1519, following the death of Maximilian. Thus at his election he was nineteen years of age, the junior by six years of Francis of France and the junior by nine years of Henry of England. All of them had sought the election, giving great sums of money as bribes to the electors, but Charles V had put forward the greatest sums of the three. He was the paternal grandson of Maximilian I; his father was Philippe le Beau (Archduke of Austria), and his mother was Juana (the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain). Queen Catherine of England was therefore Charles's aunt; and this will have some bearing on the divorce trial by Henry VIII later on. But more immediately his attitude toward Luther and the King of France were to have an effect on England.

At Worms, Emperor Charles V presided over the now famous Diet where at four o'clock in the afternoon of April 17, 1521, Martin Luther appeared before the

assembly in the great hall of the archiepiscopal palace. Scores of prelates and princes were present. Many were against Luther; and many more were for him, including such powerful patrons as the Elector Frederick and the Elector Palatine. The excommunicated friar was nothing daunted as he faced the new Emperor. He gave the assembly a shock when he nonchalantly greeted a local magistrate with the insolent words, "You here too?" But when asked if he maintained or retracted the doctrines condemned by the Pope (in books he had already admitted as his), Luther hesitated. His questioner was John Eck, his former opponent in the Leipzig debate. Luther asked for time. The next day, however, he was brazen, refused to recognize Charles V or the Diet as his judges, and indulged in vituperation to such an extent that even Charles, who was very patient, could not stand it. Charles turned to a friend and said: "It is not this little monk who will make a heretic of me." The next day, before anybody could begin further proceedings, the Emperor stood up and solemnly declared he would no longer tolerate the utterance of blasphemy and heresy, and that the Diet was at an end. "A single monk," said the Emperor, "trusting to his private judgment, has opposed that faith held by all Christendom for a thousand years and more. . . . I am resolved to defend this holy cause with my dominions, my friends, my body, my blood, my life, and my soul." Thereupon the Emperor demanded that the Diet in like manner profess their faith and expel Luther, "this propagator



From an Old Print of Pope Adrian VI.

of false novelty and this instigator of civil and religious strife," from the Empire, within three days. But the Diet, afraid of the Lutherans, waited until Luther voluntarily left, about a month later, before approving the publication of the ban against him and thus ending the session. Luther managed to escape unharmed to Wartburg, where he lived for almost a year under the protection of Frederick, and then went back to Wittenberg where he vented his wrath on "papists" and translated the Latin New Testament into German, with the proper "corrections" in the text to suit his own doctrine. The important thing about the Diet is the fact of Charles's vigorous declaration for the faith, an act which won him the support of Pope Leo X shortly before Leo died in December, 1521.

But in the same year 1521, Charles was beginning his long campaign against the French. Wolsey of England was treating with the French (Henry being a mere figurehead in the running of England now). Charles appealed to Wolsey to come over to Bruges and treat with him. Wolsey told the French he would arrange for a peaceful settlement of all disputes, and went over to Bruges where he demanded as his price to help Charles three things: (1) the papacy for himself; (2) the Emperor's marriage to Mary; (3) the Emperor's guaranty to continue the payment of such pensions and annuities as were due England from France. England would help the Emperor to the extent of 10,000 horsemen and 30,000 footmen. Hardly was the treaty con-

cluded when the French were driven from Milan. And Pope Leo X died, leaving the coveted papacy vacant. Wolsey had King Henry immediately write to Charles for the bestowal of the papacy on him. The Spanish ambassador, in a letter to Emperor Charles, tells how Henry is so bent on gaining the election for Wolsey that he is sending his own secretary, Richard Pace, "as if (to use the King's own expression) he sent his very heart." Pace, it seems, was very popular with the Venetians and therefore a power in his own right. On the twenty-fourth of December, the Bishop of Elna wrote to the Emperor, describing a second interview with Cardinal Wolsey, in which the Bishop had told Wolsey that Charles would do all in his power to bring about Wolsey's election as Pope. To this Wolsey had replied "with such professions of humility" (wrote the Bishop to Charles) "as if he had been elected Pope already through your instrumentality. Perceiving that your Majesty had not forgotten your promise at Bruges, he was in great hopes of success, and began to repeat to me Pace's commission, of which I wrote to you by the last post, adding one thing at which I was greatly astonished; and, however strange it may seem, I will repeat it to your Majesty. He said that, to secure the election, which he desired for no earthly reason except for the King's exaltation and yours, it would be very important that your Majesty's army now in Italy should advance to Rome; and then, if, after liberal monition and offers, the cardinals continued refractory, they should be com-

pelled to elect him by force in order that the French faction might be excluded, and Naples and Sicily be saved."

Thus we have Wolsey ready to throw aside all the freedom of papal elections in order to gain his own election and his own points. This is in 1521, just three years after Bishop John Fisher upbraided him for his immoral insolence toward God and man.

At the conclave, Wolsey was not a very promising candidate, however. For, while the conclave should have started on December 18, 1521, sixteen days after the death of the Pope, the time was extended until the Cardinal of Ivrea (who had been taken prisoner on his way from Savoy) had regained his liberty. And while the cardinals waited, factions were formed, one under Cardinal Colonna and the other under Cardinal de' Medici, the right-hand man of the deceased Leo. The factions against de' Medici were strong, but of the fifty cardinals there to vote, de' Medici controlled fifteen votes, and had an option on three or four more. Ambassador Clarke sounded out both de' Medici and Colonna as to their reactions toward Wolsey. He asked their attitude toward Campeggio and found it not so good; they remained silent on Wolsey. Finally, more disorders breaking out in the Papal States (for, without a pope, the Papal States were deprived of a temporal as well as a spiritual ruler), the cardinals went into conclave on St. John's Day, December 27, 1521. They assembled before noon at the Basilica of St. Peter, in the Chapel of Sixtus IV, where

mass was sung by Cardinal Colonna and a sermon was preached. After mass, in solemn procession, singing the *Veni Creator*, the cardinals (having been reduced to thirty-nine in number) went to their cells, arranged in a chapel of the papal palace. Two hours before night-fall, they again assembled to hear the reading of the Julian bull against simoniacal practices and to promise (before the foreign ambassadors) upon the Gospels to observe the tenets of this papal bull. Then the Roman nobility were dispatched to the outside wards (i. e. rooms in the papal palace), the foreign ambassadors dismissed to the middle wards, and only ordained prelates allowed in the wards nearest the conclave.

Outside the papal palace, as usual, the multitudes gathered to catch some news of the developments. But there was no news. No letters or tokens or signs of any kind were allowed to pass to or from the conclave. Even the food was delivered to the cardinals "at a round turning wheel made in the wall" so that there would be no personal communication between the cardinals and outsiders. To force the cardinals to act, their food, after a certain number of days, was restricted to one kind of meat. Day after day the cardinals met and discussed and debated and voted. But they reached no decision and accomplished nothing except to argue and nominate and oppose and vote again. On the second of January, the quantity of meat was reduced and the cardinals had to choose between boiled or roast meat. Cardinal Grimani was so sick that he had to be carried out of the conclave

(he had come post-haste from Venice to Rome to take part in the election, only to be thus stricken before any decision was reached). When the name of Cardinal Farnese was announced mysteriously to the public as the next Pope, his house was ransacked (it being the cry of the looters that now he would not need what was in it since he would hereafter occupy the papal residence). The voting was getting bitter, and no conclusions were being arrived at, when Cardinal de' Medici proposed the name of Cardinal Wolsey, who, up to this, had not been mentioned in the conclave at all. A vote was taken and Wolsey received seven votes. That showing was so dismal that he was not mentioned again.

Every cardinal and every prelate of any distinction was named to no avail. Then, one of the cardinals proposed Tortosa, the famous Adrian of Utrecht, a Flemish scholar who had been a brilliant professor at the University of Louvain, a tutor of Emperor Charles V, a fine administrator and temporary viceroy of Spain, a man eminently fitted for the position of pope but a man who was almost unknown to the other cardinals at Rome. Consequently, when on the eleventh ballot, he received twenty-six votes, the others joined to elect him Pope, as much to their own regret at such a choice as to their joy at having the thing over with and done. The election took place on January 9, 1522.

Within a month after Adrian of Utrecht took the name of Pope Adrian VI the news of his election reached Bishop Fisher at Rochester. Fisher was enjoy-

ing himself watching several children shoveling a surprise fall of snow from the doorsteps of his cathedral when the news came. He was sitting in a chair, looking out of the large window which faced the cathedral, in the twilight of that February afternoon, when a royal messenger was announced.

"Well," said the Bishop, "what brings a messenger from His Grace in this cold and storm?"

"My Lord, it is my happy duty to announce the election of Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht to the papacy. He has taken the name Adrian VI," the messenger replied.

"Adrian of Utrecht," repeated the Bishop. "Thank God, thank God. The choice could not have been better."

After receiving a warm meal at the Bishop's table, the messenger was on his way again. And the Bishop, alone, pondered the news. It was good news. Very good news, indeed. Adrian of Utrecht, of Louvain, the upright, stern, ascetic friend of the poor and the rich alike, the patron of the arts, the supporter of numerous students for the priesthood and of itinerant priests, providing them with food, clothing, and board, as well as tuition. Adrian, the former monk, who had been born of poor parents and had remained poor all his life; Adrian, the holiest cardinal of the time, now Pope. It seemed so wonderful that Bishop Fisher could hardly believe it. There had been so many rumors that the papacy might be obtained by Wolsey, or by one of the Colonnas. Before the election, no one had even dreamed that Adrian

of Utrecht would be chosen Pope. But the election had been held, and the fact, however astonishing, was true. Fisher gave extra thanks to God that night.

But Wolsey was in a rage. "So this is the way the Emperor has tricked me!" he shouted. "Well, I will show him what it means to break a bargain." And when the news arrived that Pope Adrian, on first arriving at Rome, entered the city in a monk's habit and walked barefoot, the evil instincts were so aroused in the haughty Cardinal that he almost went mad with shouting and even contemplated sending a pair of sandals to Rome so that the Pope would not have to walk barefoot like a beggar.

In May of that year 1522, Emperor Charles V, well aware of Wolsey's rage but pretending not to be, arrived in England to arrange for his marriage with Mary and for the English attack on France. He was entertained royally, somewhat after the manner of the Legate Campeggio, with all the leading prelates of England joining in the reception. Wolsey blandly greeted the Emperor as if he were a great friend. On Sunday, June first, Bishop Fisher said mass in the Emperor's presence and entertained him and his company at the Rochester palace; but the Bishop's palace was so poorly furnished that the Emperor did not bother to spend the night there . . . as he was accustomed to do at the better furnished episcopal palaces, but hastened on to Gravesend.

Wolsey was assured by Charles that Adrian's election had been an unforeseen and chance event, but that at

the election of Adrian's successor he would again support Wolsey and this time more vigorously. The Emperor pleaded his case so seriously that Wolsey believed him and again agreed to help him in his war on France. Fisher, however, would oppose the plan.

Fisher had messengers going back and forth between Rochester and London to keep him informed of the Cardinal's activities and intentions. The plan went on for a year after Charles V left England. The plan, in brief, was that the Duke of Bourbon (who aspired to the French throne) should be helped by English troops to march on Paris and capture it. Then Bourbon would marry the Queen of Portugal; and the forces of the Emperor, the King of England, and the Queen of Portugal would attack France from without while Bourbon stormed Paris from within. As far as the Emperor was concerned, in the event of victory, an enemy would thus be removed; for England, Henry intended to claim the throne of France; and the Duke of Bourbon would be Henry's governor of France, with all power except the actual title of King. "But of what practical value to England will that be?" questioned Bishop Fisher; "Is the King of England willing to wage war at a great sacrifice to life and finances, not to mention the morals as well as the morale of our people, just for the empty honor of being called King of France?" Fisher did not mention it, but he already perceived in his mind that the real winner in such a campaign would be Wolsey; because by all these alliances the Cardinal would rule not



Cardinal Wolsey's demand for funds for King Henry VIII from Parliament refused by Sir Thomas More, the speaker of the House of Commons, unless there first be open debate in the House.

only England and Spain, but France and Portugal as well, and would have a stronger claim than ever on the Holy Roman Empire, which claim he hoped would some day elect him Pope.

Both Wolsey and King Henry were adamant. They were set upon waging the war. But to carry on a war of this magnitude meant a considerable expense. Ordinary resources would not suffice. So King Henry decided to call the second Parliament in eight years for the purpose of raising funds. The last Parliament had been dissolved in December, 1515, when Wolsey became Chancellor. The new Parliament was scheduled to open in April, 1523.

On the fifteenth of April, Sir Thomas More (who had been in constant communication with Bishop Fisher) made arrangements to plead the cause of the House of Commons (assembled in the great chamber at Blackfriars' Hall, London) before King Henry, and on the eighteenth, he did so. He opposed the spending of money so foolishly. As undertreasurer of the Exchequer, Thomas More knew what was the state of England's finances and what a burden of additional taxation the new war would impose on the people.

On April 29, Cardinal Wolsey, attended by lords temporal and lords spiritual, entered the House and pleaded for a subsidy of not less than 800,000 pounds sterling (equivalent in modern American money to \$100,000,000). The money was to be raised, the Cardinal explained blandly, by a tax of four shillings in the pound

on all men's goods and land. Thomas More, having spoken his piece against the tax to the King himself, remained silent at the speech of the Cardinal, but there was a bit of humor forming in More's mind. The Commons refused the tax, saying it would reduce the country, already overburdened with taxes, to beggary. A committee requested the Cardinal to ask the King to reduce the sum he wished, but the Cardinal refused. The debate was resumed in the House of Commons. Then the Cardinal complained to a committee from the House that everything done in the House was immediately discussed in every alehouse in the land, so that often the Cardinal did not find out what had happened until after everybody else knew. Consequently he condemned them for the lightness of their tongues and said he intended to be personally present at their debates. Thomas More made arrangements to receive the Cardinal with his whole train, saying to the members of the House: "Masters, inasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, you well know, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this House, it will not be amiss in my mind to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his crosses, his hat, and his great seal, too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us hereafter, we may be the bolder from ourselves to lay blame on those that his Grace brings hither with him."

The Cardinal made his appearance as arranged. He talked fluently on the necessity of the subsidy and, when

he was through, he asked various members of the House what they thought about the matter; but they all remained silent. Then Wolsey said, somewhat abashed: "Masters, unless it be the manner of your House, as of likelihood it is, by the mouth of your speaker, whom you have chosen because he is trustworthy and wise, in such cases to utter your minds, here is without doubt a marvelously obstinate silence." Then, turning to Speaker Thomas More, the Cardinal demanded an answer. Sir Thomas More on his knees excused the silence of the House on the grounds that all were abashed by the sublimity of the Cardinal's presence among them. Then gently but firmly More told him that it was neither agreeable nor expedient for the House to comply with his demands. The Cardinal left the House of Commons in a rage, after scowling at More to show his utter displeasure. Doubtless it was expected that Sir Thomas would be stung to the quick by the Cardinal's look but, judging from the loud laughter that rang in the alehouses of England that night, such was not the case.

When the incident was reported to Fisher, he laughed as heartily as anyone, but his laughter was in private and was not of long duration; for he was constantly aware that the Cardinal had dared to ask for this new subsidy at a time when people were starving in the streets of England. Fisher made plans to oppose Wolsey with all the vigor at his command. It would be an economic revolt, bloodless but portentous.

The clergy were to be as heavily taxed as the knights

of shires, the citizens of cities, the burgesses of boroughs, and the gentlemen on country estates private. Accordingly when Archbishop Warham, Primate of England and Archbishop of Canterbury, called a convocation of bishops concurrently with Parliament, to assemble at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, it was with the idea of discussing on his own authority the matters of taxation and then dealing, as representative of the clergy, with the Cardinal (as representative of the King). But Wolsey had other ideas. On the first day of convocation, after solemn mass, Wolsey, by virtue of his legatine authority, cited all the clergy to appear before him at Westminster. Some bishops objected to these proceedings as illegal, saying the clergy had first been cited to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury. Wolsey smiled and issued a new summons for the seventh of May. Thus the convocation of the provinces of York and Canterbury, as told, met at Westminster Cathedral early in June and granted the King one-half of one year's revenue of all existing benefices in England, to be paid in installments in the course of five years. It was vigorously opposed by Bishop Foxe of Winchester and Bishop Fisher of Rochester. Another well-known cleric, Rowland Phillips, the eloquent vicar of Croydon, at first opposed the grant. But, upon Wolsey's telling him that his tax would be paid by Wolsey and that he would receive new honors if he refrained from opposition to the bill, he yielded and absented himself from the discussion, much to the loss of his reputation, according to Polydore Vergil

who, as one present and a dean of some importance, Dean of Wells, showed his own opposition to the grant by his admiration for Foxe and Fisher and his disgust for Phillips. Although Bishop Fisher raised his holy hands in horror at the thought of one Christian nation going to war against another Christian nation for no other purpose than the glorification of national pride and power, Wolsey was adamant. And Fisher's protest against the robbing of the poor to enrich the Tudor royalty, was to no avail. Cardinal Wolsey, with his three chins and his considerably excess avoirdupois, his lower lip curled up over his upper lip, his little piggish eyes peeking out from fat eye-sockets, his pudgy hands fondling his pectoral cross of gold and precious jewels, his fat legs crossed awkwardly, his body covered with a brilliant crimson robe, fumed and fretted as he listened to Bishop Fisher preach. This was the second time Fisher openly opposed him.

But the House of Commons as well as the Lords yielded to Wolsey and passed his Act with its nefarious provisions: for the first two years a five percent tax was to be levied on all goods and land to the value of twenty pounds and upward; two and one-half percent tax on goods from two pounds to twenty pounds; and one and two-thirds percent on goods of only forty shillings or on yearly wages averaging twenty shillings (the workmen of England thus being taxed heavily); in the third year a five percent tax was to be levied on all land to the value of fifty pounds and upward; and in the

fourth year a five percent tax was to be put on personal property of fifty pounds and upward. These rates were to be doubled in the case of aliens (which, of course, was proper). The Act was not to extend (doubtless because it would be impossible to extend it there) to Ireland, Wales, or Calais. For royal reasons, the Act was not to extend to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland; nor was it to extend to Chester, to the Bishopric of Durham, or to Brighton in Sussex.

Wolsey was pleased with his success, but displeased with many of the men who had so strenuously opposed him, particularly John Fisher and Thomas More. Shortly after the close of Parliament, Wolsey accidentally met Thomas More in the gallery at Whitehall and, after expressing his displeasure at Speaker More's conduct in the chair, shouted vehemently: "Would to God you had been at Rome, Master More, when I made you Speaker!" To which More answered, smilingly: "Your Grace not offended, so would I too, my Lord." And not taking this polite mockery with good grace, Wolsey shortly afterward urged the King to send Thomas More as ambassador to distant Spain, and keep him there. But the King, who had taken a fancy to More, called More in and asked about the trouble with the Cardinal and, on hearing of the repartee, was so amused that he assured Wolsey he could not afford to lend such a ready wit as Master More to any other king. And although this, trivial enough in itself, was a triumph for More, it did

not add to More's commendability in the eyes of Cardinal Wolsey.

The point of all this as regards later activities is the fact that although King Henry VIII, on hearing of all the sermons and deeds of Fisher and More, was at this time amused and thought Fisher and More were commendable checks on Wolsey's pride, Henry was to remember all these checks when Fisher and More were to go directly against himself, and then they would not appear so amusing. As for the actions themselves, they show the constant character of John Fisher and Thomas More. More seems to have fashioned his ideas on the ideas of Bishop Fisher whom he admired as a paragon of prelates, the undaunted type of cleric who, commissioned to preach the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the Shepherd of the flock and the Friend of the poor and the oppressed, preached it. Fisher was fiery; More was witty and polished; but both were Christian and therefore daring.

As for the campaign against the French, Wolsey's plan was a good one, but not destined to succeed. First, failure came when King Francis I, who was nobody's fool, started for Italy and then stopped short and called for the presence of the Duke of Bourbon by his side. Bourbon fled to the South, betraying himself by his mad rush to escape Francis' wrath, which existed only in Bourbon's mind; in fact, Francis had summoned him merely as a precaution. The second setback came when Emperor Charles, who was by now almost penniless

and could pay England nothing in recompense, crossed the Pyrenees with England's financial aid, but took only a half-dozen towns. The French continued to hold Bayonne. And the knights who crossed the Meuse were summarily driven back. On Bourbon's betraying himself by his flight, all his friends in Paris and surrounding towns were quickly put under arrest. The last hope of the campaign depended on the Duke of Suffolk, who had been commissioned as general of the English army that was marching on Paris. The army was within seventy-five miles of Paris when it was halted—by Wolsey's command. The reason was Pope Adrian's sudden death and Wolsey's second failure to gain the papacy.

After less than eighteen months in office, Adrian VI died, an old man, but a man prematurely sent to his grave because he was not able to get along with the worldly-minded Romans. Wolsey, on hearing the news of the Pope's death, demanded that Emperor Charles V speak for him at Rome. The Emperor promised his help and had instructions sent to friendly cardinals for the election of Wolsey as Pope. The voting took place in much the same fashion as in the case of Adrian VI, except that this time the cardinals were more bitter. After fifty days in conclave, on November 17, 1523, they chose Giulio de' Medici, the cousin of Leo X. He was forty-five years old. He took the name Clement VII and received the plaudits of the Roman populace.

With the election of Clement VII, even Wolsey realized that his hopes of ever becoming Pope were shat-

tered. Why, then, be so considerate toward Emperor Charles? Why continue the march of the English army on Paris?

Wolsey learned that the English army had reached the Oise and was within a few days' march of Paris. He gave the order to retreat, to come back to England. Henry VIII was furious; Charles V was also furious; and Suffolk was the most furious of all. But Wolsey's explanation was a very humanitarian one: "The season of the year was so frequent with extreme cold and other sore weathers that neither man nor beast could longer endure marching in the field, but died daily and nightly, on both parts, in great numbers for cold; and diverse lost their fingers, hands, and feet, being frozen dead upon their beds, and some daily cut off." Though the Duke of Suffolk declared that fewer men perished in this campaign than in any he had ever waged, nobody paid any attention to Suffolk. Wolsey was the great power in England.

In asking for peace, Wolsey for once was on the right and popular side. The clergy, the tradesmen, and the citizens—who had been decrying the wars constantly—were thankful for this respite. Bishop Fisher celebrated a mass of thanksgiving in his Rochester Cathedral, rejoicing that the Chancellor had at last come to his senses. On Christmas Day, 1523, in a sermon delivered at Rochester Cathedral, Bishop Fisher said: "Let us rejoice, beloved brethren, on this natal day of the Prince of Peace that we of England are at peace."

And Ludovico Vives of Louvain, who was destined to play such an important part with Fisher later on, declared at this time:

I wish all princes could pass some part of their lives in a private status, that they might know the wants of their subjects; and from suffering themselves, learn to pity those who suffer. But educated amid regal pomp, they have little feeling for the calamities of others. They think it nothing that for a petty quarrel or from vain ambition, fields, villages, and towns should be laid waste, a population consumed and even nations subverted. Who can see without groans—or hear without tears—the crowds of the aged and of infants rendered homeless and weeping about the churches, their property taken away by military violence—even of their friendly armies—and, what is still more intolerable, destroyed and burned before their eyes.

CHAPTER IX

EMPEROR CHARLES V

IN THE year 1524, Bishop Fisher made extensive repairs to his cathedral and his episcopal palace. They were necessary repairs that added but little to the comfort of living in either of them, merely rendering them safe. The good old Bishop had been giving whatever money he could save to the poor who called at his door. In fact, only his brother Robert's sagacity in saving enabled the Bishop to pay for the repairs.

The statue of our Lady was repainted, as was the statue of St. Joseph. Several pews were rebuilt, and the floor of the cathedral was relaid. The doors were repainted, and the cement steps outside were repaired. That was the cathedral. In the palace, even more necessary repairs were made: the foundation was rebuilt where it had begun to crumble, the roof was fixed where it had started to leak, and new panes of glass were put in three windows where the makeshift patches of paper could not withstand the wind.

While Fisher was occupied in these labors, personally supervising the repairs, he kept a close contact with affairs in the rest of England and in Europe. He was aware

that Pope Clement VII had no high regard for Emperor Charles V and that trouble was clouding the horizon. He knew, too, that the city of Milan was suffering from the plague and was ready to yield to King Francis I of France. He sympathized with the people of Milan; he realized that the pestilence alone was a sore trial, without the added burden of war. But he was powerless to do anything but pray for the afflicted Milanese.

In late March of 1525, a messenger arrived at Rochester with the news that the imperial army had captured Pavia and that Francis of France was a prisoner of Emperor Charles. The striking victory had occurred on the Emperor's twenty-fifth birthday. Fisher, having met the Emperor and having considered him a worthy Christian, rejoiced at the news and rejoiced still further when the Emperor declared in a formal announcement to the English ambassador Sampson: "I rejoice in this victory for three reasons: first, God has given me this victory, despite the fact that I am a sinner, that I might reform and use it to His greater glory; second, it will enable me to establish universal peace in Christendom, reform the Church, and put down unbelief and heresy; third, the victory will be more profitable to my friends, such as the King of England, than to myself."

While the Emperor was making a display of his love of God and of his fellow-men, and while Bishop Fisher was rejoicing with him, most of the residents of the Italian states were trembling with alarm; because the Emperor's army of mercenaries was not easily controlled

when opportunity for looting and plundering presented itself. A despatch to Wolsey from Ambassador Clarke was at once communicated to Fisher. It said: "The Venetians are in great fear, now that they are at the discretion of the Imperialists, whom they have not treated well. They are arming themselves and pressing the Pope to do the same. The effect is that the Pope, Venice, Florence, the Duke of Ferrara, Siena, Lucca, Mantua, and other meaner powers, will make a league for the defense of Italy, which they think the Duke of Milan would gladly enter, as they suppose he will be for some years in no less captivity than the French King." What Clarke was obviously hinting was that England should join the league to thwart the ambitions of the Emperor; but the Emperor owed so much money to the English that neither Wolsey nor King Henry wished to break with him at this time.

Wolsey, far from breaking with the Emperor, decided that this was a good time to renew the war against France, since the French King was in the power of the Emperor. Accordingly, on the twenty-first of March, 1525, Wolsey asked the City of London "for a subsidy for the French war, the King intending a personal invasion." The people of England were enraged at this turn of events. Bishop Fisher, when he heard the news, sank into a chair and groaned as he said: "I thought the Emperor's crushing of the French King would mean the end of war in Europe, but it seems to be only the beginning of a series of wars. I have prayed for peace, I have

hoped for peace, I have believed there would be peace, but now the prospect is discouraging."

What Fisher had to say was mild compared to what the common people said about the Cardinal. The clergy of Rochester reported to Bishop Fisher: "The people are cursing the Cardinal for his anything but Christian attitude. We have actually heard threats on the Cardinal's life."

Wolsey disregarded all reports and continued to call for money, money, money to wage the war. Archbishop Warham of Canterbury said it would be difficult to raise the funds since the last Parliamentary grants were still in arrears and since the people were complaining that too much English money was already in Flanders and that, if the King of England conquered France, he would spend too much of his time there. But Wolsey's answer to this was to suppress monasteries in Kent, in Sussex, and even in Essex. The monks and friars openly rebelled against him. In the University of Cambridge, despite Chancellor Fisher's advice to the contrary, the professors and students formed a league to advise the people of Suffolk and Essex to offer armed resistance to the commissioners who dared come looking for money for the Cardinal's war. "If the Cardinal wishes war," said one of the professors, "let him have it here." King Henry withdrew his commission, but did not relish the rebuff.

Hardly, it seemed, had Bishop Fisher wiped his brow in relief, when news of terrible calamity arrived from

Rome. The year 1525 had ended peacefully, and on January 13, 1526, Emperor Charles had released King Francis from prison in Spain after Francis ceded Burgundy and agreed to pay a large sum of money to the Emperor. That appeared to settle matters peacefully and, although the Turks were invading Hungary and causing havoc in the Near East, the Moslem threat did not seem to be immediate as far as Western Europe was concerned. But the autumn of 1526 would bring frightening news of treachery and sacrilege by the imperial army at Rome.

In the late summer of 1526, the imperial ambassador at Venice received from Hugo de Moncada, commander of the imperial troops, a letter containing the following lines:

Seeing the condition of the Emperor's affairs in Italy, the great difficulty of procuring the money required for the troops, and the fear that when reinforcements came it would be too late, especially if the French make a descent upon Italy, I have come to a resolution, with Cardinal Pompeo Colonna and the rest of the Colonnas, to help and assist the imperial cause on our own responsibility. For this purpose a truce has been concluded between the Pope and the Colonnas that the Pope, having laid down his arms, may be taken thereby unawares. Our intention is to attack Rome.

Even the imperial ambassador, accustomed as he was to treachery, gasped at this communication.

On the night of September 19, 1526, Moncada arrived with his allies and seized the gates of Rome, en-

tering at daybreak by the Lateran gate. They proceeded undetected to the Church of SS. Cosmos and Damian. There they were seen but were given no opposition, the Romans not quite aware of what was up. The troops made their way to the Janiculum; from there Cardinal Colonna sent trumpeters to different sections of the city to proclaim the fact that nobody would be harmed except the Pope and the papal guards.

The Pope called in vain for help; and thereupon he resolved to follow the example of Pope Boniface and face death on the pontifical throne. But the resident cardinals told him to seek refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. The imperial troops sacked Rome, looted the Pope's palace, the cardinals' homes, the ambassadors' dwellings, the houses of the nobility, and the churches. Even St. Peter's Church was ransacked and the sacred host was profaned. This sacrilege more than anything else caused Bishop Fisher, when he heard the news, to offer a month of masses in atonement for the sins of the imperial soldiers. Even Wolsey shuddered when he heard that the Blessed Sacrament had been profaned.

The Pope, in St. Angelo's, was ready to make terms with the conquerors. But Moncada, who had merely wished to make a forcible display of the Emperor's power over the Pope, asked no terms of Clement VII. Kneeling at the Pope's feet, he begged pardon for the licentiousness of the soldiers and returned certain silver crucifixes he had stolen from neighboring churches. He begged the Pope to renounce his opposition to the Em-



The Emperor Charles the Fifth
(*Titian*)
In the Prado, Madrid.

peror, from whose piety, justice, and other virtues might be expected the peace of Christendom and the safety and security of the Holy See. Though inwardly resenting the outrages, Pope Clement graciously accepted the pleas of the Spaniard.

But if Clement thought that Moncada's sack of Rome was terrible, he was to be further horrified at the sack of the Eternal City by the Duke of Bourbon in May, 1527. The Pope had watched Bourbon's march on Rome and had made a treaty with the imperial troops near Rome for protection. But on May 4, 1527, Bourbon came to the city gates and sent a trumpeter to demand of the Pope the right to enter the city and purchase provisions. Two days later Bourbon stormed Rome. But, as he was mounting a ladder to scale the wall, he was struck with a harquebus shot from behind; he died instantly. The troops entered the city eager for blood, and for food and drink. Again the Pope and the cardinals fled to the Castle of St. Angelo.

Rome was pillaged. Sacrileges were committed. The filthiest soldiers dressed themselves in bishops' vestments and paraded the streets, substituting cursing for prayers. A group of Lutherans captured Cardinal Araceli and, fastening him to a bier, carried him through the streets while they recited the office of the dead. Women were ravaged. Men were slain. A soldier, wanting a cardinal's ring, cut off the finger that the ring was on. The outrages of the days of Nero were duplicated by these soldiers of the Holy Roman Emperor. Vice of all kinds

flourished unchecked; all manner of crime was committed. Leading in the destruction was the Prince of Orange, William of Nassau. He was like a fiend let loose from hell to wander through the world seeking the ruin of souls.

When Bishop Fisher heard of this second sack of Rome, he was sorely tried. The world was in a state of chaos such as it had not witnessed for a thousand years, since the days of Nero. What did it portend? Where would the attack on holy things finally arrive? Would the Catholic Church really survive against the gates of hell? Or would the gates of hell prevail against the Church? Fisher knelt and prayed, prayed for hours at a time during that year 1527.

CHAPTER X

THE QUESTION OF HENRY'S DIVORCE

ONE OTHER thing was causing trouble in England: Henry's love for Anne Boleyn. Henry was a sensual man. Sensuality was part of his life, like chasing foxes. As early as 1522, when he heard that his wife Catherine would no longer be able to bear children, he began to grow worried; for he had no son and he wished to have a son who would continue the Tudor line. An illegitimate son would not do; his vanity would not allow him to acknowledge a bastard as his son, even though his conscience was not very strict in these matters. He began telling his friends that he was troubled in conscience as to whether it had been lawful in the eyes of God for him to marry his deceased brother's wife.

It may have been mere coincidence that Henry's conscience began to trouble him the same year that Anne Boleyn made her appearance at his court. At any rate, it was to Anne that he turned in his distress of conscience. In the spring of 1522, at the age of sixteen (fifteen years younger than Henry), Anne Boleyn had just come from the French court, where she had learned many things. She was by no means beautiful, but she had a certain at-

traction. She was an English woman of some distinction, her grandfather having been Lord Mayor of London. Trained in the pro-Lutheran atmosphere of the French court under King Francis I at the time when the King was under threat of papal excommunication, Anne was not one to care about King Henry's faith or the destiny of the Church.

In the five succeeding years, Henry paid court to Anne. At first he intended to treat her as an ordinary mistress, but Anne, seeing how he had treated her sister Mary, refused to be his mistress; she must be his Queen. To give Anne her due, she had not been deeply infatuated with Henry at first and would have preferred to marry Lord Henry Percy, a younger and more attractive man; but the King had Cardinal Wolsey reprimand Lord Percy and banish him to the North. Anne never forgave the Cardinal for this act. When all her male friends were one by one taken away from her, she welcomed the attentions of the King, particularly since he seemed ready to do her bidding.

In May, 1527, Anne Boleyn gave King Henry her ultimatum. He would have to get rid of Queen Catherine and make Anne queen in Catherine's stead. This was a call to action for Henry. He summoned Cardinal Wolsey (the legate *a latere*) and Archbishop Warham (the *legatus natus*). He told them he wished a divorce, a setting aside of his marriage with Catherine on the ground that it had not been valid when it first took place. Not

only would Catherine be cast aside, but the King's daughter Mary would be declared illegitimate.

Fortunately for Bishop Fisher's peace of mind, he was totally unaware of this growing affection between the King and Anne Boleyn at this time, but when he finally learned the truth of the matter, he did not hesitate for a moment in opposing the King and in defending Queen Catherine.

Bishop Fisher was sixty-eight years of age in 1527; since 1520 the years had been hard on him because of the multiplicity of his duties. His hair was snow-white now. Traveling on horseback was very troublesome to him because he tired in the saddle easily. He could still walk fairly well, however, and rejected all suggestions that he retire from active work in the ministry.

"Do you know, Robert," he used to remark to his brother with a smile, "they're asking the only working prelate in England to stop working."

Of course, Fisher was not going to stop working. He continued his activities in all three fields of endeavor: Privy Councillor of the King, Chancellor of Cambridge University, and Bishop of Rochester. But to such extent as he could, he stayed in his own diocese and attended to his local episcopal duties. He was so much more a priest than a diplomat that his life was in sharp contrast to the life of Cardinal Wolsey who was much more a diplomat than a priest. The contrast was particularly striking in the years immediately preceding the King's

divorce, on the more important feast days and fast days of the Church.

For Wolsey Good Friday was a day of complete retirement; he saw no one and did nothing on that day. That was as pious as Wolsey ever became. For Fisher the day meant essentially what it means to good priests today: the solemn celebration of the mass of the Pre-sanctified in the morning, followed by the veneration of the cross, a ceremony of loving remembrance of Christ's passion and death, from noon until three o'clock in the afternoon (the traditional hour of our Lord's death), and the public way of the cross in the evening. For Fisher it was no day of soft retirement, but the hardest liturgical day of the entire Church year.

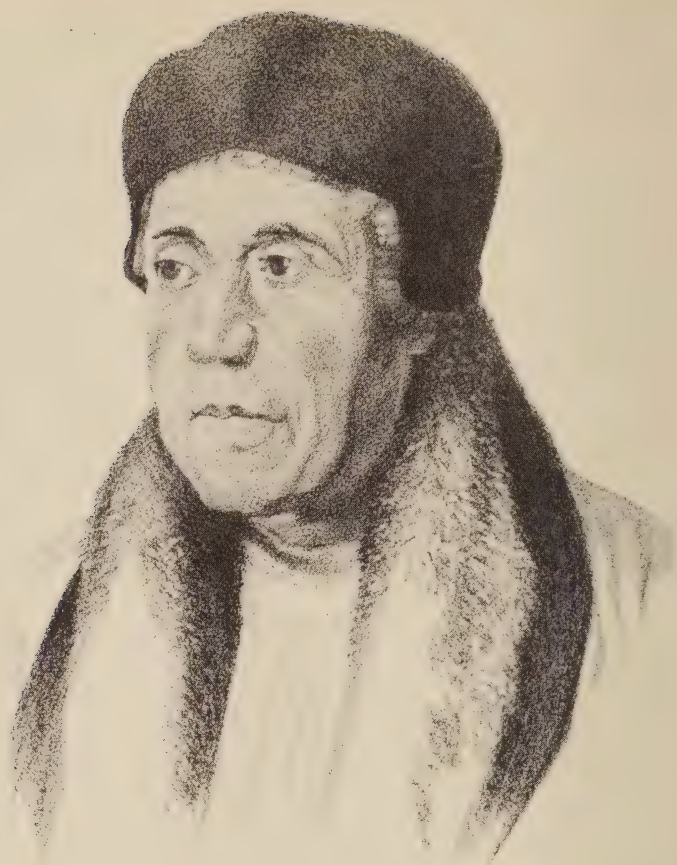
Easter for Wolsey was a day of celebration at the royal castle; but for Fisher the day meant the giving of free baskets of food to the poor of his diocese in memory of the Lord's providing loaves and fishes for the multitude that came to hear Him. On the Feast of the Annunciation Wolsey merely said mass (as usual) in his Lady Chapel; Fisher preached a sermon on the humility of Mary as revealed in the Gospel of St. Luke (1: 26-38).

And Christmas saw the greatest difference of all. Wolsey celebrated high mass at midnight and exchanged gifts with the royal family. That was the limit of his celebration of the Lord's Nativity. For Fisher Christmas began on Christmas Eve with the distribution of good

food, clothes, toys, and money to all the poor and needy of his diocese. At midnight he celebrated solemn mass, preaching his special Christmas sermon at a crib placed at the left of the main altar. At dawn (about six o'clock in the morning) he again celebrated solemn mass; and he celebrated a third solemn mass at about ten o'clock. The good Bishop preached different sermons at each of the three masses, many of the faithful of his diocese and of surrounding dioceses attending all three masses for the spiritual benefits they derived. All the hymns that were sung were selected by the Bishop himself, different hymns being sung at each mass. At noon he gave a special dinner to which all vagrants and travelers were invited. In the early afternoon he was accustomed to give a special Christmas party to all the children of his diocese, each child receiving some sweet delicacies and a rosary or some other religious gift. In the late afternoon he attended vespers and gave Benediction. A supper would be served to all who wished to eat with the Bishop. At night, before the Cathedral there would be carol singing, followed by the Bishop's blessing. As the people left for home, the Bishop used to enter his church and, kneeling at the Christmas crib, pray for strength, for strength to live the life of a Christian in times that were very bad. After a long time, he would rise again to his feet and come forth from the church and, as the stars twinkled in the blue heavens and the winds blew shrilly through the frosty air, the old Bishop would draw his

cape around him and gazing upward smile peacefully, serenely, happily. Christmas meant much to Bishop Fisher.

The winds that were blowing in England were not winds that were to keep Bishop Fisher smiling peacefully and serenely. In May, 1527, a secret collusive suit was begun in which Legate Wolsey summoned King Henry VIII of England to appear before him (who was the Pope's special representative) to answer the charge lodged against the King: the cohabitation for eighteen years with one Catherine, wife of his late brother Prince Arthur. Wolsey declared that as Legate of the Holy See it was his duty to challenge and, if possible, rectify all offenses against the marriage laws of the Church, and that King Henry was guilty of such an offense. But, as Wolsey was a subject of the King, he first asked permission to proceed with the examination. Henry graciously granted the permission. Wolsey declared that, although a dispensation had been granted Henry to marry Catherine eighteen years previously, the validity of the marriage was questioned. Therefore King Henry should feel some scruples of conscience on the matter as God is a terrible Judge of those who disobey Him. Henry asked to be allowed to name Dr. John Bell as his proctor. It was agreed. On the twentieth of May, Bell showed a paper for the King's justification; the document, however, contained the admission that the marriage had been entered into after a papal dispensation, but denied the right of the pope to dispense from the impediment. A



Archbishop William Warham — from Holbein's portrait.

cleric named Wolman, who acted as promoter of the marriage bond at this secret court and who had been advised by Wolsey to speak his mind freely, stated his objections to Bell's paper; and Wolsey said he would appeal for a decision to such learned theologians as the bishops of Rochester (John Fisher), Lincoln, and London. The case ended there, abruptly. It was obviously out of the question for a papal legate to place the decision in the hands of lesser prelates in England. The Legate himself must decide. If he could not decide, he was compelled by law to send the case to Rome for decision. Furthermore, this court at which both Wolsey and Warham sat was an inferior one, not the legatine court authorized by the Pope himself. If these secret proceedings had been known at Rome (it seems that they were not), probably both Wolsey and Warham would have been barred from sitting at the legatine court later. As for the appeal to the bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and London, Wolsey decided not to make it; accordingly John Fisher never knew of this first move by Wolsey to help the King in his unlawful attempt.

The first inkling John Fisher had of the coming evil events was the unexpected visit paid him by Cardinal Wolsey when Wolsey was ostensibly making a visit to France to treat with King Francis I. With the Cardinal were some nine hundred horsemen, including Sir Thomas More. The Cardinal's journey from Westminster began on July 3, 1527, went through London and

over London Bridge. The first night he met Warham of Canterbury and told him that the purpose of this journey was to get help from France to free Pope Clement VII, who was a virtual prisoner of Emperor Charles V. But, while it was easy to fool the Archbishop of Canterbury, even Wolsey knew it would be difficult to deceive the aged Bishop of Rochester. So, arriving at Rochester (July 5), Cardinal Wolsey made a humble approach to Bishop Fisher and spoke of the calamities that had befallen the Church, admitting the serious evils of prelates like himself and the goodness of prelates like Fisher. And then, as Wolsey wrote to King Henry:

I asked him whether he had heard lately any tidings from the Court, and whether any man had been sent unto him from the Queen's Grace. At which question he somewhat stayed and paused; nevertheless in conclusion he answered that the truth is that lately one was sent to him from the Queen's Grace, who brought him a message by mouth, without disclosure of any particularity, that certain matters had lately chanced between your Grace and her, concerning which she would be glad to have his counsel, alleging that your Highness was content she should so have; to which, he says, he made answer likewise by mouth that he was ready and prone to give her his counsel in anything that concerned or touched only herself, but in matters concerning your Highness and her he would do nothing without knowledge of your pleasure and express commandment: and thereupon dismissed the messenger. After this declaration, I replied and said, "My Lord, you and I have been of an old acquaintance and each has loved and trusted the other; wherefore, postponing all doubt and fear, you may be frank and plain with

me, as I, for my part, will be with you." And so I demanded of him whether he had any special conjecture or knowledge as to what the matter might be wherein the Queen desired to have his advice. He answered that by certain report and relation he knew nothing; howbeit, upon conjecture arising from such things as he had heard, he thinks it was for a divorce to be had between your Highness and the Queen; to conject which he was specially moved, upon a tale having been brought to him by his brother from London, who showed him that, being there in a certain company, he had heard say that things were set forth to such a purpose; whereupon, and calling to remembrance the question I moved unto him by your Grace's commandment, with the message sent him from the Queen, he verily supposed such a matter to be in hand. And this was all he knows therein, as he constantly affirms; without having ever sent any word or knowledge thereof, by his faith, to the Queen's Grace or any other living person.

After explaining to Fisher that the matter must be kept confidential (although not giving any reason why it should be so treated), Wolsey said that at the negotiations conducted for the marriage of Princess Mary to the King of France (Emperor Charles V having deserted Mary at the last moment), the Bishop of Tarbes had desired to know what had been done to eliminate "the impediment of that marriage whereof my Lady Princess comes," and the same Bishop had declared the papal bull of dispensation insufficient as the Pope had no authority to dispense whatever was of divine right. This Bishop was awaiting Wolsey's arrival in France for further discussion of the matter. Accordingly, Wolsey

explained, the learned men of England were being consulted to get proofs that the marriage was valid. Wolsey continued in his letter to King Henry:

Thus declaring the whole matter to him at length, as was devised with your Highness at York Place, I added that by what means it was not yet apprehended an inkling of this matter had come to the Queen's knowledge; who being suspicious and casting further doubts than were meant or intended has broken with your Grace therefore, after a very displeasing manner, saying that by my procurement and setting forth a divorce was proposed between her and your Highness; and by her manner, behavior, words, and messages, sent to diverse persons, has published, divulged, and opened the same, and what your Highness has said to her therein to the purging of the matter; how and after what sort your Grace has used to attain to the knowledge of him that should be author of that tale to her. And I assure your Grace, my Lord of Rochester, hearing the process of the matter after this sort, attributed great blame to the Queen as well for giving so light credence in so weighty a matter as also when she heard it to handle the same in such fashion as rumor and bruit should spread thereof, which might not only be some stay and let to the universal peace but also to the great danger and peril of your Grace's succession if the same should be further spread and divulged; and he doubted not but that if he might speak with her and disclose to her all the circumstances of the matter as aforesaid, he should cause her greatly to repent, humble, and submit herself to your Highness; considering that the thing done by your Grace in this matter was so necessary and expedient and the Queen's act herein so perilous and dangerous.

According to Wolsey's own letter, therefore, Fisher had been deceived by the Cardinal; for the Cardinal had dared one of those things which a man like Fisher could not even conceive: Wolsey had lied about his own Queen, accusing her of opening King Henry's mail (when, of course, she had done nothing of the kind—as even her enemies later admitted) and making out that Henry did not seek a divorce but merely wished to prove that his marriage with Catherine was valid in order that Princess Mary would be declared legitimate and worthy of a husband like the French King. But Wolsey was worried when Fisher spoke of going to Queen Catherine and reprimanding her for her conduct; he advised Fisher not to do so, and Fisher agreed to do whatever the King thought best in the matter. Wolsey wrote triumphantly to Henry: "I have so persuaded him that he will nothing speak or do therein or anything counsel her except as shall stand with your pleasure; for, he says, although she be Queen of this realm, yet he acknowledges you for his High Sovereign Lord and King and will not therefore otherwise behave himself in matters concerning or touching your person than as he shall be by your Grace expressly commanded."

Thus, for King Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey alienated Bishop Fisher's allegiance from Queen Catherine, temporarily. But Fisher was not only a man with a conscience, but a man with intelligence. He was one of those who can be deceived some of the time, but not all

the time. Cardinal Wolsey, after obtaining Fisher's promise not to go to Catherine, then tried to get him to acknowledge the defect of the papal bull of dispensation, speaking as if he were merely advancing the arguments of the French Bishop. Fisher, however, denied that there was anything essentially wrong with the papal bull of dispensation. Fisher espoused the Pope's rights so strongly that Wolsey grew alarmed lest Fisher had surmised what was afoot. He hastily continued his journey to Faversham.

While Wolsey was deceiving Bishop Fisher, the King's henchmen at home were deceiving Queen Catherine, telling her that her suspicions were not justified, that all was well, that she would remain Queen of England until death. That she believed them is told in a letter to Wolsey from a priest named Sampson, whom Cardinal Pole later referred to as an instrument of the devil (*Instrumentum Sathanae*). Sampson's letter reads, in part: "The great matter (the divorce) is in very good train; good countenance (meaning the Queen's); much better than was, in my opinion; less suspicion or little; the merry visage is returned, not less than was wont."

Meanwhile Emperor Charles V (who was the nephew of Queen Catherine, it will be remembered) was keeping touch with events in England and knew every move of the King and his Cardinal, particularly those movements that Henry and Wolsey thought most secret. The Spanish ambassador, Don Inigo Mendoza, wrote steadily to Charles, informing him of each new development.

Mendoza was not able to communicate with Queen Catherine, however, and on the one occasion when, through the permission of Cardinal Wolsey, he did manage to have an interview with her, it was in the presence of Wolsey and was brief. Catherine was virtually a prisoner in England.

Mendoza, in May, 1527, wrote as follows: "I am perfectly aware, though the Queen herself has not ventured, and does not venture, to speak to me on the subject, that all her hope rests, *after God*, upon your Imperial Highness. . . . It would be very advisable, if, with all possible secrecy, the Pope were put upon his guard in case any application should be made to Rome unfavorable to the marriage; also that his Holiness should tie the Legate's hands, and, by having the cause referred entirely to himself, prevent the Legate from taking part in it, or appointing judges for it in this kingdom." In a letter to the Emperor, dated July 17, 1527, Mendoza says:

I wrote by the last post how the King and his ministers were trying to dissolve the marriage between the Queen and himself, alleging that the Pope had no power to grant a dispensation for marrying two brothers in succession, as he has done. . . . Up to that date no intimation or summons had been made to the Queen; but on the twenty-second of last month (June) the King virtually separated himself from the Queen, telling her they had been living in mortal sin all the years they had been together; and that as this was the opinion of many canonists and theologians whom he had consulted on the subject, he had come to the resolution, as he

was much troubled in his conscience, to separate himself from her *a mensa et thoro*, and he desired her to choose a place into which she would retire. The Queen, bursting into tears, and being too much agitated to reply, the King said to her, by way of consolation, that all should be done for the best, and begged her not to divulge what he had told her. The King must have said this, as it is generally thought, to inspire her with confidence, and prevent her from seeking the redress she is entitled to by right, and also to keep the intelligence from the public; for so great is the attachment of the English people to the Queen, that some demonstration would probably take place in her household. Not that the people of England are ignorant of the King's intentions, for the affair is as notorious as if it had been proclaimed by the town crier; but they cannot believe that he will ever carry so wicked a project into effect. However this may be, and however much people may asseverate that such iniquity cannot be tolerated, I attach no faith to such assurances, as the people have no leader to guide them. If, therefore, the King should carry his design into execution, and the suit now commenced go on, this people will probably content themselves only with grumbling. As the Queen has no one to come to her aid, she would despatch a special messenger to Spain, if she could; but the English are so suspicious at this time, that no courier from her would be allowed to pass. Nor, at this point of the negotiations, would such a step be advisable. I have therefore given her to understand that it would be better for her to write a letter than despatch one of her household as a messenger.

Evidently Queen Catherine's desire was to have the Pope deprive Cardinal Wolsey of his legatine authority. Since the Cardinal was in such great disfavor with the

people (for his taxes, his tithes, his demands, his pomp, his playing up to the King and the wealthy, his imposition of laws putting down the laborers, his vanity, his evident lack of understanding of the true meaning of the holy priesthood), Catherine knew she would be on the popular side, the Christian side, in her request that all power be placed in the hands of Cardinal Campeggio and none in the hands of Wolsey. But Wolsey was Henry's man, and Henry was King of England.

In all fairness to Wolsey, it must be stated that his idea in the first place had not been that Henry should seek a divorce. Nor was the idea Henry's. It had been Anne Boleyn's. She wished to become Queen of England. But Wolsey had many enemies among the royalty who surrounded Henry, and this was their opportunity to disgrace him in the eyes of the Pope or the King; possibly in the eyes of both. It must have been thus early, in 1527, that Wolsey's heart sank and, at long last, he realized the price he would have to pay for his ambition. He was not only being hampered in regard to the divorce, but he was being urged to wage war against Emperor Charles. He was thus urged in the hope that he would fail and would perhaps be put to death for his failure. Mendoza was able to write in all truth:

I have been assured that his (Wolsey's) greatest enemies (the Boleyns) are those who are now supporting him in this matter (the alliance with France against the Emperor), hoping thereby to bring him to destruction; knowing, as they do, that the indignation of the whole country is roused

against him and that if he should carry out his warlike plans, of which he has lately given so many indications, there will be an outbreak and rebellion whenever men and money can be raised for the purpose. Therefore, these pretended friends of the Legate are urging him on as much as they can, for they would not be satisfied with turning him out of office, but they seek his entire ruin; and so, though unwillingly, they conceal their hatred of him and favor his politics. Those who, but for the Legate, would be entirely on the Emperor's side, are the Duke of Norfolk and, among ecclesiastics, the Bishop of London (Tunstal). The Archbishop of Canterbury never comes to Court, unless compelled, on account of the Legate.

And yet, with defeat staring him in the face, Wolsey was at the pinnacle of success; for at the very moment when the whole world hated and despised him, he was the most powerful figure in the world, more powerful by far than the Pope in temporal affairs (and Wolsey's mind was interested only in temporal affairs). Francis I wished to have England join France in a war on the Emperor. Emperor Charles V wished to have England remain friendly to the Empire. Both rulers made dazzling offers to the Cardinal, one of the Emperor's men going so far as to suggest that Pope Clement VII could be put out of the way and Wolsey could be made Pope, if Wolsey were to remain with the Imperialists and wipe out the French. Wolsey was being wined and dined in splendor at the very moment when the Pope was beleaguered by impious imperial soldiers in the Castle of St. Angelo and was living day by day on salads prepared

by a holy old beggar-woman who could realize, while the mighty of Europe forgot, that the pope is the Vicar of Christ no matter where he may be or in what condition.

Bishop Fisher at Rochester followed developments in his own way as steadily, though without the idea of evil that was in the minds of Wolsey and Henry, as anybody in the Kingdom. He said nothing, waiting the turn of events. Only by the falsification of facts had Wolsey succeeded in fooling him concerning Henry and Catherine. Fisher never swerved from the correct Christian doctrine. Eventually the truth of Henry's intentions was to come out, and when it did, it would bring Fisher's stern condemnation and rebuke with it.

While Fisher heard of Wolsey's meeting with King Francis I of France, but paid no attention to it, he did not, until some time in 1529, know of Henry's sending his secretary, Knight, to the Pope to obtain a release from the marriage with Catherine in 1527. But Fisher was surprised at the untoward incident that took place upon Wolsey's return to England. Wolsey crossed over from Calais to Dover at the end of September, 1527, and went to Kent; there he heard that the King was staying at Richmond. Wolsey took his whole train of followers with him to Richmond, expecting to be welcomed with joy. At the palace he sent word to Henry of his arrival and asked where and at what hour he should see the King, it being the custom for the King to grant private audience to legates on affairs of importance. But Anne Boleyn was with Henry when Wolsey's request came,

and she answered for the King: "Where else should the Cardinal come? Tell him he may come here, where the King is." Of course, Wolsey was furious at the answer; but hiding his displeasure with a diplomatic smile, he entered the Court with a score of other knights and prelates, as if he were of no particular importance. The King had yielded to Anne Boleyn in a matter of state: that was the important point of the incident as it impressed itself not only on the mind of Wolsey but on the minds of Fisher, Mendoza (the Spanish ambassador), Cardinal Campeggio, and other interested observers. If Henry yielded on matters of state, would he not yield on private matters as well?

Pope Clement VII, who had been kept prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, made his escape, disguised as a peasant, one dark night early in December, 1527. He fled from Rome and dashed through the Forest of Boccano to Capranica. There, after taking food, he made arrangements with friends to accompany him over the mountains to the ancient and somewhat ruined town of Orvieto, where he arrived on the next morning. The Imperialists went to the castle, as usual, to pay their respects to the captive Pope, but they were kept waiting with no other word than that the Pope had not made his appearance in the audience chamber. All day the Imperialists waited, but not until the second day was the truth of the Pope's escape known, though his whereabouts was not even then made clear.

It was to the humble residence in Orvieto that King

Henry's envoy, Knight, made his way, seeking the dispensation for the marriage of Henry to Anne Boleyn. Pope Clement hemmed and hawed. It seems that Henry was looking for two dispensations, one for the eyes of Anne Boleyn and the other for the eyes of Wolsey. The one for Anne was to be a permission for Henry's marriage with her whether or not the marriage with Catherine were declared null. The dispensation that Wolsey had made plans to get was a very legal document, well in keeping with the law of the Church, providing that the King of England should be allowed to marry, within certain degrees, after formal sentence of the Cardinal, commissioned in the matter by the Pope. Knight saw that he could get nowhere with the Boleyn dispensation, but might persuade the Pope to grant the Wolsey dispensation. In the latter case, it was decided that there should be two legates and a general commission to hear the arguments for and against the divorce. The idea as presented in writing to the Pope was passed by him to Cardinal St. Quatuor, an excellent canonist who, reading the application through once, snorted his disapproval and said it could not be granted without perpetual dishonor to Clement and Henry and Wolsey. However, St. Quatuor agreed to reword both the application and the dispensation so as to make them legal. Knight very eagerly agreed; and the Cardinal canonist revised the documents. Knight joyously brought the dispensation back to England, only to have Cardinal Wolsey, on reading it, state it was not a dispensation at all; it begged

the very question at stake; it said that Henry could marry Anne if he were not already married to Catherine. Knight was summarily dismissed from further service.

The King, stung by the humor of Cardinal St. Quatuor, realized that only a cardinal, like Wolsey, would be able to cope with the cardinals at Rome, if, indeed, anyone could. Wolsey, therefore, took full charge of the proceedings from then on. When he hired Gregory Casale to aid in the obtaining of the dispensation, he wrote the following official view of the matter:

I have told you already how the King, partly by his assiduous study and learning, and partly by conference with theologians, has found his conscience somewhat burdened with his present marriage; and out of regard to the quiet of his soul, and, next, to the security of his succession, and the great mischiefs likely to arise, he considers it would be offensive to God and man if he were to persist in it. With great remorse of conscience he has now for a long time felt that he is living under the displeasure of the Almighty, whom in all his efforts and his actions he always sets before him. He has made diligent inquiry whether the dispensation granted by Pope Julius to himself and the Queen, his brother's widow, is valid and sufficient; and he is told it is not. It was founded on certain false suggestions; as that his Majesty desired the marriage for the good understanding between Henry VII, Ferdinand, and Isabella; whereas there was no suspicion of any misunderstanding, etc. Next, when the King reached the age of fourteen, the contract was revoked, and his father objected to the match. It is to this offence against his Maker that the King attributes the death of his male children, and dreads the heavy wrath of God if

he persists. Notwithstanding his scruples of conscience, he has resolved to wait for the judgment of the Holy See, trusting that, out of consideration to his services in behalf of the Church, the Pope will not decline to remove these scruples, and discover a method by which the King may take another wife, and, God willing, have male children.

Then, with many more words of instruction as to how the Pope should be persuaded to agree to Wolsey's request, Wolsey sent the following commission for the Pope's signature:

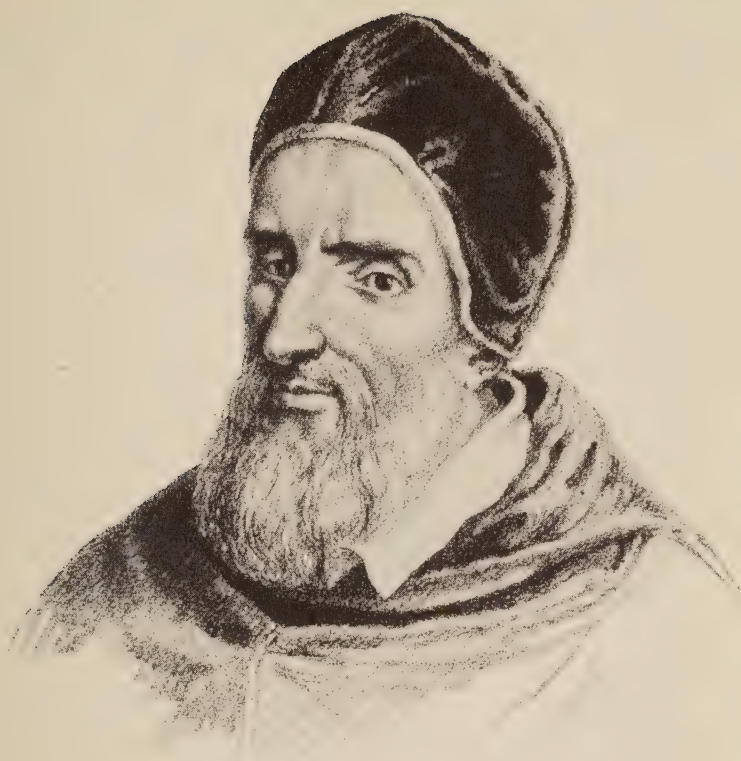
Clement VII to our beloved—(to be filled in), health and apostolic benediction. Whereas eighteen years ago, our dearest son in Christ, Henry VIII King of England, etc., was induced by the persuasion of those about him, and a pretended apostolic dispensation, to contract marriage with Catherine his brother's widow; and whereas it has been found, upon further examination, that the said dispensation was granted on false pretences, and is faulty and surreptitious; that thereby the King's conscience is troubled; and that, in full confidence of our plenary power as supreme ruler here on earth, he has required, etc., etc. In consideration of the premises, we appoint you, our dear son, the Cardinal of York, of whose virtues, love of justice and equity, we are well assured, to exercise our authority in your own person for the trial of this cause. We also appoint you . . . (to be filled in) as assessor, enacting that the decision of either of you shall be valid in the absence of the other. You are to proceed summarily and *de pleno*, without the publicity or formality of judicial proceedings, and inquire into the validity of the said dispensation. And if you, jointly or severally, are satisfied of its invalidity, you shall pronounce the marriage between Henry and Catherine

to be null and void, allowing the parties to separate, and contract marriage *de novo*, all appeal or challenge set aside. Also by this our authority we empower you to overrule all canonical defects or objections and declare the issue of the first as well as of the second marriage to be legitimate, if you think fit. And whatever is done by you in this cause, judicially or extra-judicially, we ratify and confirm in the fullest manner, without revocation.

The commission which Wolsey thus sent was the most extraordinary, the most impudent, the most scandalous, and the most amusing document he ever penned. It was a dictation in the matter of religion by a cardinal to a pope. Wolsey's only possible excuse in sending such a letter of commission for the Pope's signature—but the Pope did not sign it—was the fact that by now, 1527, even Wolsey realized how deep was Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn, a passion that would seek its gratification outside the Church, if not permitted in the Church. Wolsey knew well what would happen to the faith in England if King Henry turned against the Church. If Wolsey had been a good priest, he would have realized that the Church could not sanction the commission of sin by anybody, whether pope or priest, king or peasant.

What Wolsey thought of Anne Boleyn's "virtue" may be gathered from his clause in the dispensation he had drawn up, hoping the Pope would sign it:

Furthermore, to avoid all canonical objections on the side of the woman, by reason of any former contract clandestinely made, or impediment of public honesty and justice arising from such clandestine contract, or of any affinity



Pope Clement VII, as he looked at the time of the English Divorce Trial. From an old print.

contracted in any degree, even in the first, *ex illicito coitu*, and in the event that it has proceeded beyond the second or third degree of consanguinity, whereby otherwise you, the petitioner, would not be allowed by the canons to contract marriage, we hereby license you to take such woman to wife, and suffer you and the woman to marry, free from all ecclesiastical objections and censures.

The dispensation was utterly rejected and no hope was given that it would be granted in a revised form. The commission as sent by Cardinal Wolsey was also rejected by Cardinal St. Quatuor, but the latter wrote a new commission in place of Wolsey's. The new commission was granted by Pope Clement on the last day of December, 1527. Wolsey, not satisfied with this, sent Gardiner and Foxe to Rome in February, 1528, to further plead with Pope Clement for more privileges. They arrived at Orvieto late in March. Clement listened to their pleas with care and attention. He seemed gracious enough, but unconvinced that the law of God would allow Henry's putting aside Catherine to take Anne Boleyn. The sole result of the four hours of oratory on the part of Henry's messengers was a witticism by Clement to the effect that although canonists claimed the pope had all laws locked up in the cabinet of his breast, God had never given Clement the key wherewith to open the cabinet. However, the next day Clement granted a commission for Wolsey and Campeggio to try the case, the commission being that drawn up by St. Quatuor.

CHAPTER XI

THE DIVORCE TRIAL

BISHOP FISHER had messengers go, as often as possible, to Queen Catherine to learn the facts on certain points. He had been fooled by Wolsey in the beginning, but he knew now what his duty demanded. He would never be fooled by Henry or Wolsey again. He decided to write in book form the entire pros and cons of the divorce dispute and show where Queen Catherine was wholly in the right, and King Henry was wholly in the wrong.

In the beginning, Fisher had Henry's own book, *Assertio Septum Sacramentorum*, to draw from. From it he quoted the following passage:

"Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Oh, the admirable word, which none could have spoken but the Word that was made flesh! O word, full of joy and fear as it is of admiration! Who would not rejoice that God has so much care of his marriage as to vouchsafe not only to be present at it but also to preside in it? Who should not tremble, when he is bound not only to love his wife, but to live with her in such a manner as that he may be able to render her pure and immaculate to God from whom he received her?

Fisher then wrote: "The King's wife is Catherine. In his own words he is bound not only to love her, but to live with her in a manner pleasing to God Almighty."

Fisher copied another passage which read:

The heathen were wont by human laws to take wives and cast them off. But in the people of God it was formerly not lawful to separate those who were joined in matrimony. And if God, by Moses, allowed the Hebrews to give a bill of divorce, Christ teaches that the permission was given on account of the hardness of the people, for otherwise they would have killed the wives that did not please them. But from the beginning it was not so. And Christ recalled Christians to the original sanctity of marriage.

Fisher then wrote down: "Indeed, the King wrote well in condemning those who cast aside their wives, and let him take heed to his own assertion that Christ our Lord recalled Christians to the sanctity of marriage."

With other like passages and with the full information in regard to Catherine's habitation with Prince Arthur prior to her marriage with Henry VIII, Bishop Fisher, for all his years and infirmities of body, was ready to wage the good fight for justice and truth.

Early in 1528, while Fisher was gathering the materials for his book, news arrived that Wolsey intended to make a commercial war on Emperor Charles V, by directing the English trade away from the Flemish towns like Antwerp and toward the French towns like Calais. It was electrifying news, and Fisher was ready to combat the war when a general depression struck the shires

of Essex, Kent, Wiltshire, and Suffolk because of the Cardinal's orders. Riots broke out everywhere, and threats were made on the Cardinal's life. In May of the year, a miller of Goudhurst, named Robert Bailey, formed a band of men out of work and told them: "We, with other good fellows, will rise for the Cardinal's life. When we have the Cardinal, we shall not slay him, for if we do the land will be interdicted; but, if we take him, we shall bring him to the seaside, and there shall put him into a boat, in which shall be bored four great holes, and the holes shall be stopped with pins, and so the boat and he will be conveyed, with folks being in another boat, into the sea, and when it is there, the pins shall be pulled out, and the Cardinal sunk." The Cardinal was too well guarded, however, to be taken by any band of working-men.

Fisher sent a note of protest to Archbishop Warham against the depression which put so many men out of work merely to please the whim of the Cardinal Chancellor. But before he could force action, an even greater calamity struck England. The plague of the sweating-sickness broke out all over the country. It took a toll of thousands of lives. For the rest of the year, Bishop Fisher was overworked, caring for the sick, comforting relatives of the dying and dead, and saying masses for the repose of the souls of the dead. To add to the terrors, several of the Bishop's own clergy were stricken by the plague, and others were forbidden by orders of local medical authorities to go near the homes of stricken peo-

ple. As a result, there was wailing and groaning as dying men and women called for the last rites of the Church, and no priest came to answer them. When this was told to Bishop Fisher, he gave immediate orders for all priests to go wherever there were dying parishioners and to administer the last sacraments to them. He himself passed from one stricken home to another, bestowing his episcopal blessing, without fear. Although he came into contact with more than five thousand persons afflicted with the disease, he never contracted it himself.

On June 16, Anne Boleyn caught the sickness, and, for a time, some hope was entertained that there would never be any divorce proceedings on her account. Henry dashed to a house twenty miles from where Anne was and, making his will, called priests to administer the sacraments and make him ready if his time were come. The French ambassador Du Bellay wrote of this to the French King, but added: "However, he is not ill." And Anne Boleyn destroyed all hopes when she recovered from her sickness in December.

In the meantime Cardinal Campeggio, who was expected in England for the divorce trial early in 1528, delayed his departure from Rome for several reasons. First, he knew what his duty would be in the matter of the divorce and he disliked being subjected to the wrath of a man like Henry VIII. Secondly, he suffered from gout and dreaded the sea voyage from Italy to England. Thirdly, although his house had been looted by the imperial troops in their sack of Rome, he had also suffered

a humiliating delay at the hands of King Henry when he had first been named legate *a latere* to England; therefore he preferred being clear of the matter altogether, since he had no liking for either of the major parties concerned in the divorce trial. And lastly, Campeggio knew he would be junior in rank to Wolsey.

Finally, after fervent pleas from Wolsey, Campeggio began his journey. He left Corneto in July, 1528; toward the end of August he reached Nice, France. He traveled to Paris and was there given a splendid reception by King Francis I. The English ambassador, Clarke, welcomed Campeggio on behalf of King Henry and offered him a sum of money to pay for the expenses of the journey; but Campeggio refused the money, saying that the funds supplied by the papal treasury were sufficient to carry him to England.

Campeggio crossed over from Calais and arrived at Canterbury on October 1. He was going to be given a grand reception in London, but, on account of an aggravation of his gout, he had to be carried to his house in Bath without much ceremony. On October 18, the day after his arrival at Bath House, he was visited by Cardinal Wolsey, who immediately discussed the question of the divorce. Campeggio tried to get Wolsey to persuade the King not to seek dissolution of the marriage, but the English Cardinal refused to oppose Henry again, saying the marriage dissolution would have to be discussed and the trial go on, no matter what the result might be. On the twenty-second, King Henry went to

Blackfriars', and Campeggio was told to come in audience. So, despite his gout and pain, Campeggio arrived to confer about the preliminary details. Campeggio writes as follows:

My friend Florian made an appropriate speech, and was attentively heard. When he alluded to the calamities of Italy and Rome, all were moved to tears. Dr. Foxe made an eloquent reply. After this public ceremony, the King drew us two legates into another chamber, when I explained to him the Pope's good will, and presented His Holiness's letter, which the King read. Next day after dinner the King visited me privately, and we remained together alone about four hours, discussing two things only. First, I exhorted him against attempting this matter; and to avoid scandals and satisfy his scruples, told him he might have a new dispensation. He heard all I had to say patiently, and made evidently a premeditated reply, instructed, I believe, by the Cardinal of York, who had used the very same arguments. We discussed, in the second place, whether the dispensation of the Pope was *contra jus divinum*; if not, whether it was valid. His Majesty has so diligently studied the matter, that I believe in this case he knows more than any great theologian and jurist. He told me plainly he wanted nothing more than a declaration whether this marriage was valid or not, he himself always assuming its invalidity; and I believe if an angel descended from heaven, he would not be able to persuade his Majesty to the contrary.

We then discussed a proposal for persuading the Queen to enter some religious house; at which he was highly pleased; and indeed, there are strong reasons for it, as he has ceased for two years from cohabiting with her, and will not return to her, whatever the result may be. In all other

matters the King will concede whatever she demands, and will settle the succession on her daughter in the event of failure of male issue by another marriage. York and I were appointed to speak to her about this on the following day.

The next day Campeggio talked the matter over with Wolsey, still trying to persuade the English Cardinal to stop the divorce proceedings and showing how such a trial would mean the anger of Emperor Charles V, the nephew of Queen Catherine. But Wolsey replied that Emperor Charles was not likely to wage war over his aunt, since he had allowed his two sisters to be expelled from their kingdoms (the reference being a rather unjust one concerning the Queen of Hungary and the Queen of Denmark). "Then," said Campeggio, seeing he was getting nowhere in the argument, "according to His Holiness's instructions, I am bound to make His Holiness acquainted with my opinion on this matter and wait for his further instructions before I proceed to judgment." Furious, Wolsey shouted: "If that is so, I do not care to negotiate with you without power, nor in fact do anything without consulting the King." It was with great difficulty that Campeggio calmed Wolsey. Campeggio wrote a little later to Sanga, "In my last conversation with his Lordship he said: 'Most reverend Lord, beware lest, in like manner as the greater part of Germany, owing to the harshness and severity of a certain Cardinal, has become estranged from the Apostolic See and the faith, it should be said that another Cardinal has given the same occasion to England with the same



Picture of Lorenzo Cardinal Campeggio, Legate a Latere to England. From an old medallion.

result.' He often impresses upon me that if this divorce be not granted, the authority of the See Apostolic in this kingdom will be at an end; and he certainly proves himself very zealous for its preservation, for he has done and is still doing for it very great services, because all his grandeur is connected with it."

Thus we have Wolsey speaking of Cardinal Cajetan rather harshly and offering a defense of Martin Luther in order to win the case for King Henry.

A few days later both Campeggio and Wolsey visited Queen Catherine and, after assuring her that justice would be done as, in the words of the Roman Legate, "the Pope cannot refuse justice to anyone who demands it," they asked her what she had to say in the matter. Catherine completely upset all plans to send her to a convent and said she would stand by her rights.

A week later, Campeggio wrote to the Vatican as follows:

I do not despair of success in persuading the Queen to enter some religious house, though I see it is difficult and more than doubtful. I wish it were possible to gain over the Emperor to this course and induce him to write or—better still—send some personage to persuade her. Imagine my condition when, besides indisposition of body, I suffer from such infinite agitation of mind. As she is nearly fifty and would lose nothing whatever, and as so much good would ensue, I cannot see why it should be impossible to persuade her to adopt this course. As the Bishop of Rochester (John Fisher) is in her favor, and I believe she will choose him as one of her counselors, with the King's consent, I had a long

interview with him on the twenty-fifth and exhorted him to adopt this course, for many reasons. When he left me he seemed to be satisfied with what I had urged. God grant that the best counsels may prevail.

When next Campeggio went to see Queen Catherine, she gave all the arguments against the divorce that have been given in the opening section of this book. Wrangling continued, but eventually Queen Catherine, showing something of that grand will power of her mother Queen Isabella, demanded her rights for recognition as the King of England's one and only legitimate wife. She was vigorously upheld in her position by Bishop Fisher, who informed Campeggio that there was nothing to do but have the trial. Catherine had selected as her counselors, by the King's permission, not only Fisher but such other eminent members of the Privy Council as Warham, Clarke, West, and Standish, and a few outsiders, including the Spanish humanist of Louvain, Ludovico Vives, whose ideas on justice and courageous championing of the poor and the downtrodden naturally recommended him to the Spanish-born Catherine. The presence of Fisher and Vives together must have frightened Wolsey. Together those two (Fisher of Cambridge and Vives of Louvain) represented Catholic charity, Catholic learning, Catholic humility, and Catholic unity. Vives the Spaniard had gone to the Netherlands to teach students of all nations, had championed the Roman papacy against nationalistic attacks in Germany, had defended the poor against the rich; Fisher the

Englishman had as Chancellor of Cambridge invited the Dutch Erasmus to teach, had listened with interest of events in Italy, had championed the Roman papacy against the German Luther, had defended the Catholic faith against evil cardinals and bishops and priests outwardly professing it but privately denying it, had served both his King and the poor of his diocese. The two were now joined in the defense of a Catholic Queen, born in Spain and married in England, for the preservation of the law of God.

The King, informed by Wolsey that Ludovico Vives and his companions from Flanders were good canonists and were worldly-wise and were no respecters of persons, was not cordial to them; in fact, he refused them an audience. Henry sent a half dozen ambassadors to Rome seeking definite dispensation without need for recourse to trial. He intimidated everybody, feeling that now he had every priest in England under control. What a shock he would receive from fiery John Fisher! King or no King, if he was wrong he would be told so by Fisher. Henry, who thought nothing of defying the Pope, would be utterly enraged at the defiance of a mere bishop.

As matters were not going smoothly enough for Wolsey, he wrote to Sir Gregory Casale, resident at Rome, saying that Campeggio was acting in a high-handed manner, refusing to show his commission from the Pope or to give any heed to the demands of the King. The letter went to John Casale, who was temporarily taking

his brother's place at Rome; and Casale wrote to Wolsey, stating he had presented Wolsey's demands to the Pope, whereupon, says Casale,

His Holiness laid his hand upon my arm with expressions of anger, forbidding me to proceed. He complained that he was deceived by those in whom he had trusted; that he had granted the commission only to be shown to the King and to be burned forthwith, and this upon the most urgent pleadings, to prevent manifest ruin, whereas Wolsey now wished to make it public. "I see," he said, "how much evil is likely to follow, and I would gladly recall what has been done, even to the loss of one of my fingers." "But," I replied, "it was applied for in order that it might be shown to a few, whose secrecy could be depended on. What has induced Your Holiness to change your sentiments?" At this the Pope grew more angry and more excited, saying the bull would be the ruin of him, and that he would make no further concessions. "But," I said, "consider what ruin and what heresy will be occasioned in England by alienating the King's mind. If the concession has been an evil, it is only a less evil to avoid a greater." Then, falling on my knees before him, I begged of him to have some consideration for the King, to reflect on the peril of losing his friendship, and the danger we should incur who had always been his faithful servants. Hereupon, tossing his arms about, he exclaimed in the greatest agitation, "I do consider the ruin which now hangs over me. I repent of what I have done. If heresies arise, is it my fault? My conscience acquits me. None of you have reason to complain. I have performed my promise, and the King and the Cardinal have never asked anything in my power which I have not granted with the utmost promptness. But I will not do violence to my conscience. Let them, if they

like, send the Legate back again and then do as they please, provided they do not make me responsible for their injustice." "Well," I asked, "is Your Holiness unwilling that proceedings shall be taken under this commission?" "No," he answered. "But," I rejoined, "Campeggio opposes your wish and dissuades the divorce." "Well," said the Pope, "I ordered him to do so; but he is to execute his commission." "Then we agree, Holy Father," I said, "and if so, what harm can there be in showing the decretal, under an oath, to some few of the Privy Council?" But the Pope shook his head and said, "I know what they intend, but I have not yet read Campeggio's letters out of England. Come again tomorrow."

The next day, Casale was again received in audience by the Pope. But he found Clement more determined than ever. To Casale's plea that Campeggio was unnecessarily delaying the passing of sentence, Clement replied that Campeggio would pass sentence in due time but would first inform Rome of the beginning of the process. Casale wrote to Wolsey, saying: "On my assuring him that he had granted a commission, according to your Grace's statement, and had consented that it should be shown to certain of the King's counselors, he became very angry and said, 'I will show you the Cardinal's (Campeggio's) letters, and they and my word are as much to be trusted as the letters you now produce.'" Thus Pope Clement at last stated the papal position and forbade Wolsey's puppet from proceeding any further in the discussion. Clement realized very well that his predecessor, Pope Julius II, had granted to King Fer-

dinand of Spain the dispensation for Catherine's marriage to Henry VIII, a dispensation that was perfectly clear and complete, leaving no flaws whatsoever. For Clement to go against such a dispensation would be not only to invalidate Julius's work but his own as well, for if one pope's judgment in the case could be so faulty, how could another's be depended upon?

Wolsey was working his heart out for the King of England, but his star was already setting. "The King has told me," wrote the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, "that he has begun to lay the blame upon the Cardinal, who, he says, has not fulfilled his promises in the matter." And a month later he adds:

The lady who is the cause of all this disorder, finding her marriage delayed . . . after feeling herself so sure of it . . . greatly suspects that the Cardinal puts impediments in her way, from a belief that if she were Queen his power would decline. In this suspicion she is joined by her father and the two dukes (Suffolk and Norfolk) who have combined to overthrow him. As yet they have made no impression on the King, except that he does not show the Cardinal in court so fair a countenance as he did, and it is said he has had some bitter words with him.

To top it all, just when England needed help from France against the Holy Roman Empire, King Francis I of France made a new treaty with Emperor Charles V, joining for the defense of the Pope against the Turks to the south, the Lutherans to the north, and England to the west.

On January 11, 1529, Pope Clement VII became deathly ill of fever. Immediately all the rulers in Europe rushed their cardinals and ambassadors to Rome to be there for the election of the new pope. Henry again advanced Wolsey's claim to the papacy. But Clement was of tougher stuff than any contemporary prince; he not only weathered the fever but, on March 19, he received the English ambassadors in audience and told them to pack up their things and go home, that he was not dead, was not going to die for a long time, and did not intend to follow their bidding. He told Wolsey's special envoys that he would not declare Julius's dispensation a forgery, since it was quite evidently a *bona fide* document; he even told them he would do nothing further for the King of England, taking the sting out of his words by adding the witticism, "though it may well be in my *Pater Noster*, it certainly is not in my Creed." That meant, of course, that though he might like to do what Henry desired, it was contrary to his conscience and convictions, and therefore out of the question.

Wolsey was still urging Catherine to enter some religious order or congregation, when a letter came from an envoy at Rome (named Vannes) that the idea was a foolish one in any case; for it was the opinion of the theologians at Rome that even if the Queen did enter a religious house, the King could not receive a dispensation to marry again. This put Wolsey in a quandary. Meanwhile Campeggio had done nothing toward starting the trial; because Henry wished it his way, and

Campeggio could not in conscience do anything but have a proper trial.

After receiving accurate reports as to the trend of events in England, Emperor Charles V decided to espouse his aunt's cause. In April, 1529, he wrote to Pope Clement VII to cancel the commission in England and call the case to Rome for trial and decision so that an uninfluenced decision might be given. Clement was ill and could not receive Charles's envoys to discuss the matter with them.

Queen Catherine was, all this time, greatly distressed. She was held practically a prisoner, all letters to her and from her tampered with, her counselors all questioned and intimidated (except one man); her very life was more than once threatened. The one thing that kept Henry from taking her life was the fact that all Europe knew Catherine to be a woman of virtue and humility. There was not an excuse in the wide world that Henry could devise that would allow him to execute her. If he could have foreseen how vigorously Bishop Fisher of Rochester would defend Catherine's rights, doubtless he would have thrown all conscience to the winds, just as he did when he slew Fisher himself six years later, and would have murdered Catherine in her bed without recourse to trial.

On June 1, 1529, all other plans having failed, the citation to appear before the papal legates was served upon their respective majesties, the King and Queen of England, by Bishop Longland of Lincoln and Bishop



The Trial of Catherine of Aragon (*Salisbury*)

Clarke of Bath. On the eighteenth of June, the papal court assembled in the Great Hall of Blackfriars in London. Two chairs covered with cloth of gold, together with cushions similarly covered, were provided for the legates. A great table was placed before them for documents, writing, and so forth. The floor was covered with gorgeous rugs, and the walls were hung with ornate tapestries. On the right side of the legates was the chair for King Henry VIII, and on the left the chair for Queen Catherine. Within the circuit of the court were places for the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) and all the rest of the bishops. The counselors for the King were to be Dr. Sampson, Dean of the Chapel Royal (and later, as a reward for his services, to be consecrated Bishop of Chichester), and Dr. Bell (later to be Bishop of Worcester). For the Queen the counselors were to be Bishop Clarke of Bath, Bishop Standish of St. Asaph, and Dr. Ridley (one of whose most prominent distinctions seems to be the fact that he was a critic of Tyndall's New Testament). King Henry did not appear on the eighteenth, but was represented by his proxies (the counselors assigned to him, as above). Queen Catherine made her appearance and protested the jurisdiction of the court. As it was necessary for both parties to appear in person in the court, the court was adjourned until June 21.

On the latter date both Henry and Catherine were present. Court opened at ten o'clock in the morning. The scrolls of authority were read aloud by the trumpet-

ers, after appropriate blasts on the trumpets: "My Lord, the Archbishop of York, Cardinal of St. Cecilia trans Tiberim, Thomas Wolsey, duly appointed Legate to this Court of His Holiness, Pope Clement VII"; and "My Lord, the Bishop of Salisbury, Archbishop of Bologna, Cardinal Protector at Rome of England, Lorenzo Campeggio, duly appointed Legate to this Court of His Holiness, Pope Clement VII." The commission of the legates to act as judges was read aloud; then the trumpeters called: "King Henry of England, come into court." To which, the King replied: "Here, my Lords." The trumpeter called: "Catherine, Queen of England, come into court." But without answering the court, Catherine went from her chair to where Henry was and, kneeling at his feet, before the assembled prelates and nobles, pleaded for her rights, in broken English, refusing to let Henry lift her until she was through. Through tears and with a choking voice, she said:

Sire, I beseech you for all the loves that have been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right, take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger born out of your dominion. I loved all those whom ye loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, and whether they were my friends or my enemies. This twenty years I have been your true wife or more, and by me ye have had diverse children, although it has pleased God to call them out of this world, which has been no fault in me. And when ye had me at the first, I take God to be my judge, I was a true maid, without touch of men; and whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. It

is a wonder to hear what new inventions are now invented against me that never intended but honesty. I most humbly require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the last Judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court, until I may be advertised what way and order my friends in Spain will advise me to take. And if ye will not extend to me so much indifferent favor, your pleasure then be fulfilled, and to God I commit my cause.

Catherine then humbly rose and, making a low curtsey to the King, left the court. The trumpeter, who during all this had not been answered, called again, "Catherine, Queen of England, come into court." And Catherine's attendant whispered, "Madam, ye be called again." But Catherine sighed and answered her attendant, "On, on, it is no impartial court for me. Go on your ways."

During Catherine's pleading, tears appeared in the eyes of Cardinal Campeggio, and Bishop John Fisher held his head bowed in sorrow. But Cardinal Wolsey, impatient and annoyed, turned away from the scene.

King Henry then rose to his feet. He was considerably perturbed by the action of Catherine and knew that her pleading had had an effect on the minds of the assembled audience. To overcome Catherine's advantage, he would have to make a better and more dramatic speech than hers. He bowed to the legates and said: "My Lords, it grieves me to have to take issue with my wife Catherine. She has been to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could in my fantasy wish

or desire. She has all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of baser estate." Nobody seemed to be paying much attention to his recital of the virtues of Catherine, so he turned to the question of his delicate conscience.

It had been the French ambassador, Henry said, who first uttered words that challenged his conscience. "These words were so conceived within my scrupulous conscience," said Henry, as tears glistened in his eyes, while humor glinted in the eyes of most of his audience, "that it bred a doubt within my breast, which doubt pricked, vexed, and so troubled my mind, and so disquieted me, that I was in great doubt of God's indignation." Stormed by his conscience and partly "in despair of any issue made by" Catherine, he was driven at last to consider the state of his realm. Accordingly he questioned many clerics on the law of the Church as to whether or not he might marry again—not "for any carnal concupiscence, nor for any displeasure or dislike of the Queen's person or age, with whom I could be as well content to continue during my life, if our marriage may stand with God's law, as with any woman alive."

Turning to the Bishop of Lincoln, his confessor and spiritual adviser, Henry said: "I moved first this matter in confession to you, my Lord of Lincoln, my ghostly father. And forasmuch as then you yourself were in some doubt about giving me counsel, you moved me to ask further counsel of all the lords; wherein I moved you first, my Lord of Canterbury, asking your license,

since you were our Metropolitan, to put this matter in question; and so I did of all you, my lords, to the which you have all granted in writing under all your seals, the which I have here to be showed."

"That is true, if it please your Highness," said the Archbishop of Canterbury, somewhat importantly, "I doubt not but that all my brethren here present will affirm the same."

And then came the first of a series of surprises. Bishop John Fisher of Rochester, old, so thin and ascetic he was almost skin and bones, but with eyes shining like the stars of a Christmas night, and with a voice so clear it instantly communicated a message—as the altar-bell at the consecration of the mass—rose to his feet, saying: "No, Sir, not I. You have not my consent thereto."

King Henry turned purple with rage. "No?" he shouted questioningly, "Look here upon this! Is this not your hand and seal?" And as he spoke, he waved some sheets before Fisher's eyes.

"No, forsooth, Sire," answered Fisher undismayed; "It is not my hand nor seal."

Henry whirled on Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, asking, "Sir, how say ye? Is it not his hand and seal?"

"Yes, Sir," said Warham.

"That is not so," parried Fisher quietly but firmly. "For indeed you were in hand with me to have both my hand and seal, as other of my lords had already done; but then I said to you that I would never consent

to any such act, for it was much against my conscience, and my hand and seal would never be seen at any such instrument, God willing; with much more matter touching the communication between us."

"You speak the truth," agreed Warham (who never was a very bad man but always woefully weak); "such words you said to me; but at the last you were fully persuaded that I should for you subscribe your name, and put to it a seal myself, and you would allow the same."

"All which words and matter," said Fisher, with an acidly sharp tone of rebuke, "under your correction, my Lord, and supportation of this noble audience, there is nothing more untrue."

Seeing his defeat, King Henry interrupted with, "Well, well, it shall make no matter. We will not stand with you in argument therein, for you are but one man."

At last King Henry VIII had unwittingly made not only a true statement, but a great one. John Fisher of England was indeed "but one man." No other prelate in England was like him. He was as unique as he was holy. Of the scores of prelates in England, Fisher was the only one who was undaunted by the devil and entirely unafraid of the King.

Fortified by his conscience and always ready to champion truth and justice, Bishop John Fisher intended to stand in argument with the King of England even if the King did not wish to stand in argument with him.

Fisher's stand embittered Cardinal Wolsey as well as King Henry. Wolsey, red of face and wriggling in his legatine chair, bit his lips while Fisher was challenging the King and the bishops.

A few of the prelates were casting dubious glances toward Wolsey, as if he were the cause of it all. Chagrined, Wolsey rose from his chair and, addressing the King directly, said: "Sire, I most humbly beseech your Highness to declare now, before all this audience, whether I have been the chief inventor and first mover of this matter with your Majesty; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein?"

King Henry answered, "My Lord Cardinal, I can well excuse you herein. Marry, ye have rather been against me in attempting or setting forth thereof."

Seeing that the court was thoroughly disorganized, Cardinal Campeggio moved for adjournment until the twenty-fifth. That session had hardly opened when it was adjourned until the twenty-eighth. And on that day John Fisher once again startled England. Cardinal Campeggio, giving the details in his letter to the Vatican, wrote as follows:

While the proceedings were going on as usual, owing to the Queen's contumacy, the Bishop of Rochester made his appearance and said in an appropriate speech that in a former audience he had heard the King's Majesty discuss the cause and testify before all men that his only desire was to have justice done, and to relieve himself of the scruple which he had on his conscience, inviting both the judges and every-

body else to throw light on the investigation of the cause, because he found his mind much troubled and perplexed. At the time of this offer and command of the King, he had forborne to come forward and manifest what he had discovered in this matter after two years of diligent study; but now, to avoid the damnation of his soul, and to show himself not unfaithful to the King, or neglectful of the duty which he owed to the truth, in a cause of such importance, he presented himself before their reverend Lordships to assert and demonstrate with cogent reasons that this marriage of the King and Queen could not be dissolved by any power, divine or human. He declared that in maintenance of this opinion he was willing to lay down his life; adding that as John the Baptist, in olden times, regarded it as impossible to die more gloriously than in a cause of matrimony, and it was not so holy then as it has now become, by the shedding of Christ's blood, he could not encourage himself more ardently, more effectually, or face any extreme peril with greater confidence than by taking the Baptist for his own example. He used many other suitable words, and at the end presented them with a book which he had written on the subject.

Bishop Standish of St. Asaph and Dean Peter Ligham of the Arches both joined with Bishop Fisher in the defense of Catherine, strenuously and vigorously, Standish arguing from the side of humanity, and Ligham arguing from the side of divine and canon law. Cardinal Wolsey, furious as a fox caught in a trap, bitterly replied to Fisher and the others, expressing surprise that prelates in England should make such an attack on the legates of the Pope. The legates were merely judges, he

said, come to hear whatever could be said on either side of the cause and, judging, when all was properly concluded, in whatever manner divine wisdom directed.

But all Europe was agog. For the second time in ten days, Bishop Fisher of Rochester had challenged the King of England, this second time practically calling him an enemy of God. Campeggio wrote: "This affair of Rochester was unexpected and unforeseen, and has consequently excited everybody's amazement. What he will do we shall see when the day comes. You (Salviati at Rome), who know what sort of man he is, may imagine what is likely to happen." The royalty of Europe, who did not know what sort of man Fisher was, were soon to learn. Du Bellay, the French ambassador wrote to King Francis I: "The Bishop of Rochester, who is accounted one of the best and most holy divines in England, especially for his opposition to the Lutheran heresies, appeared with the Queen's other counselors before the legates, not indeed as her proctor, but only to remonstrate with the judges, offering to prove the goodness of her cause by a little book which he had made jointly with her counselors. This he presented, enlarging upon the Queen's cause with many wise words. A rather modest answer was made by the judges, that it was not his business to pronounce so decidedly in the matter, as the cause had not been committed to him." It had been Wolsey, not Campeggio, it will be noticed, who answered Fisher. Campeggio, judging from his letters to Rome, was much pleased by Fisher's stand.

King Henry could no longer endure Fisher's opposition. On June 28, 1529, John Fisher, by comparing himself to John the Baptist, prophesied his own martyrdom. His head would come off, at the order of a cruel king, to please a wanton woman.

In the meantime, King Henry wrote a speech in which he bitterly assailed Fisher and Fisher's conduct at the divorce trial. A copy of the King's speech was sent to Fisher and, on the margin, Fisher made appropriate comments. In his speech, Henry challenged what everybody else readily admitted—Fisher's learning. The pupil thus called the master stupid. Henry complained that Fisher was trying to defeat him instead of helping him, after he, the King of England, had so humbled himself as to submit his case to the judgment of a Church court. He definitely stated that he was to have Anne Boleyn as a wife even though God and man should stand in the way. Henry wrote:

It is true that men sometimes fail—even the wisest—in their projects; but I never thought, Judges, to see the Bishop of Rochester taking upon himself the task of accusing me before your tribunal: an accusation more befitting the malice of a disaffected subject and the unruly passions of a seditious mob than the character and station of a bishop. I had certainly explained this to Rochester some months ago [Fisher wrote in the margin: "nearly a year ago"] and not once only, that these scruples of mine respecting my marriage had not been studiously raked up or causelessly invented. Until the present time Rochester approved of them and thought them so grave and so momentous that, without

consulting the Pope respecting them, he did not think I could recover my tranquillity of mind." [Fisher's marginal note: "I did not say so; but the Cardinal would have been glad if I had said so."] When the Pope, moved by the judgment of his cardinals and others, considered that the reasons urged were sufficient, and the doubts were such as were worthy the consideration of the ablest judges—when he left the whole decision of the cause to your religious determination, and sent you Campeggio here at great expense, for no other purpose than to decide this cause, what are we to suppose could have instigated Rochester, or by what spirit, let me ask you, could he have been inspired, to press forward thus imprudently, and thus unseasonably declare his opinion after keeping silent for many months [Fisher wrote in the margin: "I was obliged to this by the protestation of the King and the Cardinal"], and not until now declare his mind in this full consistory. Had he been consistent he would not have attributed to mere logical subtleties and rhetorical refinements those scruples of my conscience, which he once admitted I had rightly entertained. If, after a study of many years, he had clearly discovered what was just, true, and lawful in this most weighty cause, he should have admonished me privately again and again, and not have publicly denounced with such boldness and self-assertion the burdensome reproaches of my conscience. It was the duty which a faithful and pious prelate owed to his Prince to defend my innocence from the slanders of evil tongues; and when he saw that my conscience was oppressed and tempest-tossed, he was bound by all means to come to my relief. It was his duty as a religious and obedient prelate to acquiesce in the sentence of his Holiness, who had sent judges here, admitting the necessity of the case, rather than thus publicly accuse the Pope of levity, as if the cause

which he had submitted here for decision was so clear, easy, and obvious that it was folly to call it into question. [Fisher wrote in the margin: "It is not obvious to all, but only to those who are compelled to study it."] Finally, it was the duty of a prudent and modest man, when he saw that the cause was conducted according to the amplest extent of your jurisdiction, to have left your judgment unfettered, and not have prejudiced the cause by prescribing to you a new formula of judgment, upon his own unsupported authority.

And then, warming up to his subject, King Henry declared:

But, Judges, in this Bishop we look for these requirements in vain. Two most pernicious counselors have taken possession of him and agitate all his thoughts—unbridled arrogance and overweening temerity. How else can we account for his assertion that by solid and invincible arguments he will immediately place the naked truth of this cause, without disguise, before the eyes of all men, and defend it even to the flames? [Fisher wrote in the margin: "I said nothing of that"] adding that he had better reasons for resisting the dissolution of this marriage than John the Baptist had formerly in the case of Herod. Monstrous assertion, devoid of all modesty and sobriety. [Fisher wrote in the margin: "What more have I said than did the Cardinal (Wolsey) who affirmed he would be burned or torn limb from limb sooner than act contrary to justice?"] As if, forsooth, Rochester was the only wise man in the world. [Fisher wrote in the margin: "There are many others."] As if he alone understood and had mastered the truth of this cause. Why talk of fire and flames, and his readiness to submit to them, when he must be fully convinced of my clemency and anxiety to

defend and not oppress the truth? What is the meaning of that comparison of his, in which he tries to assimilate his own stand to that of John the Baptist, unless he held the opinion that I was acting like Herod, or attempting some outrage like that of Herod? I, Judges, never approved of the impiety of Herod, certainly not that which the Gospel condemns in him, wherein we learn by the words of the Baptist that he had taken his brother's sister to wife. [Fisher wrote in the margin: "Non intelligo," meaning presumably that Henry's embroidery on the Gospel was not necessarily untrue in fact but of no consequence as regards Henry's relations with Catherine.]

Whatever Fisher may think of me, I have never been guilty of such cruelty. Let him say if ever I have passed a severe sentence upon those who did not seem favorable to this divorce, and did not rather show them the highest favor in proportion to their deserts. But, lest perhaps this should blind your eyes, Judges, and delay your sentence, while he with great bravery affirms that of all men he has now discovered the truth, and dragged it out of darkness, it shall be my part to examine carefully this vainglorious and more than thrasonical magniloquence of his, and show how little solidity there is in it. And if I can clearly show that what he considers a most undoubted and invincible truth is nothing more than a shadow or image of the truth, what other opinion can you entertain of him, Judges, than that, swollen by pride and malevolence, he has given utterance to these more than temerarious words, with a view to seeking reputation in the opinion and mouths of the ignorant, and that he wishes to arm and excite them, maddened by his persuasions, against those who venture to differ from Rochester? But let truth conquer and prevail in your judgment, and falsehood be rejected; for though it may produce

sudden and vehement impulses in the ignorant multitude, yet after a little time, when the cause is fully examined before you who administer the law, such effects will immediately wither away.

The rest of his pamphlet is crude; he challenges Bishop Fisher's affirmation that the words, "what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," applied with particular force to the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Henry screamed his protests at Fisher's definite declaration that Henry's marriage to his deceased brother's wife, since that first marriage had never been consummated, was legal under the Pope's dispensation, for there was no impediment to that particular marriage which could not be removed by the Pope's authority.

Fisher's stand caused alarm to Wolsey as well as to Henry. Wolsey watched this priest who had been ordained at the same time as himself, who had preceded him into the episcopacy, who had preceded him in the King's affection, who had been passed by Wolsey in the ladder of ecclesiastical promotions only because Fisher had declined any offers of bishoprics after Rochester, who had challenged him when he made a display of his legatine power, who had maintained throughout his priestly, his truly sacerdotal, career all the holiness and firmness of purpose which he had the day he celebrated his first mass. Wolsey saw this priest, this John Fisher, standing firmly for the right, against the wrath of the King who, everybody knew, had the power of life and

death. And Wolsey was uneasy; he knew that on the last day, the day of judgment, he would have to make answer for his crimes of commission and omission, the same as the most humble priest. If Fisher, who he knew was a courageously holy man, was against the divorce so emphatically, and he himself knew the divorce was wrong, how, Wolsey wondered, could God forgive him for not standing firmly with Fisher even against the King? Bad as Wolsey was, he suffered, of course, from twinges of conscience; they were more important than scruples in his case; they were graces which, if he had co-operated with them, would have saved him. Fisher never suffered from either scruples or twinges of conscience, for the simple reason that he constantly followed the dictates of his conscience. It was no easier for Fisher than for Wolsey; but Fisher was a courageously moral man, while Wolsey was a moral coward.

Fisher's stand against the setting aside of Catherine by Henry was more responsible for the defeat of Henry's purpose than were the pleadings of Emperor Charles V to the Pope. This is clearly evident in the attitude of Cardinal Campeggio, who knew little of what was going on in Rome at this time. He wrote to Salviati on July 13, 1529:

We have since progressed in the same manner (hurriedly), with great strides till this day—always faster than a trot—so that some expect a sentence within ten days; and although we have many things to do—writings, allegations, and processes to see and examine—yet such is their speed and

diligence, that nothing is sufficient to procure us a moment's breathing space. It is impossible for me not to declare my opinion and what seems to me most convenient, but it is of little avail. I will not fail in my duty and office, nor rashly nor willingly give cause of offense to anyone. When I pronounce sentence I will keep God before my eyes, and the honor of the Holy See.

The brief of dispensation written by Pope Julius II was in the hands of Emperor Charles, who refused to send it to England (lest it be tampered with) and was willing only to send it to Rome. But if he did, the cause would probably be recalled from England and tried in Rome. This result the English tried desperately to prevent. A certain Dr. Benet was sent to Rome to try to persuade Clement to leave the cause for trial in England. Clement listened to Benet's pleading that Wolsey was faithful to the Holy See, that Henry was a good Catholic, that the Imperialists were not so good, that revocation of the cause would bring ruin to the Church of England (how well Benet expressed this!). The Pope answered that nobody more clearly saw the terrible result than himself, but there were no two ways about it: he had either to yield to Henry and thus sacrifice his conscience, or yield to his conscience and sacrifice Henry. He would, for the honor of the Apostolic See, be compelled to follow his conscience, no matter what happened to Henry.

In the session held at Blackfriars' on July 19, another altercation took place between Cardinal Wolsey and



Part of Hamond's Map of Cambridge, made in 1592.

Bishop Fisher. The matter came to a head over the marriage of Henry and Catherine, Wolsey stating that nobody could know whether or not it were a right marriage, since nobody was sure whether or not the marriage between Catherine and Arthur had been consummated. "The truth thus cannot be known," said Wolsey. But Fisher responded: "Yes it can, I know the truth." "How know you the truth?" asked Wolsey. "Forsooth, my Lord," replied Fisher, "I am a confessor of truth; I know that God is truth itself; and he never spoke but the truth who said, *Quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet* ('Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder'). And forasmuch as this marriage was made and joined by God to a good intent, I say that I know the truth." But Wolsey peevishly retorted: "So much do all faithful men know as well as you. Yet this reason is not sufficient in this case; for the King's Council alleges various presumptions to prove the marriage not good at the beginning; therefore, they say, it was not joined by God at the beginning and it is not lawful; for God ordains and joins nothing without a just order." Dr. Ridley, Fisher's friend, jumped into the breach, saying it was a shame and a dishonor that such presumptions (that Catherine had married Henry after having consummated her marriage with Arthur) should be alleged in open court, and that they were too detestable for decent ears. "My Lord Doctor," rebuked Wolsey, "speak a little more reverently." "No, no, my Lord," shouted back Ridley, while Fisher smiled his

approval, "an unreverent tale should be unreverently answered."

On July 23, 1529, Cardinal Campeggio declared that the session held that day would be the last until the resuming of court on October 1. He said that the matter must be well considered and that he had received no word from Rome of late. "I shall," he said, "therefore adjourn this court for this time, according to the order of the court in Rome from whence this court and jurisdiction is derived."

However, before the end of the last session in July, King Henry, soured against everybody because he was not having his own way, called Cardinal Wolsey to Bridewell where a long audience was held. After the audience, Wolsey came out and, speechless, went to his barge at Blackfriars' to sail home to Westminster. The Bishop of Carlisle, wiping perspiration from his face, remarked, "Sir, it is a very hot day." "Yes," said Wolsey grimly, "if you had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, you would say it was very hot." Hardly had Wolsey reached his palace and thrown himself on a bed, utterly fatigued and disgruntled, when Sir Thomas Boleyn brought a message from the King demanding that the two legates approach Queen Catherine at Bridewell and ask her to place the whole matter in the hands of the King without waiting for the decision of the court "which might end in her slander and defamation." Wolsey blasted Boleyn for putting "such fantasies" into Henry's head, but, obedient to the King's

will, Wolsey rose and got Campeggio at the palace of Bishop Clarke at Bath, and the two went to the Queen for her answer. She treated them cordially but firmly, stating, "Alas, my lords! I am a poor woman, lacking both wit and understanding sufficiently to answer such approved wise men as ye both be, in so weighty a matter." With many more words to that effect, Catherine completely routed the intentions of the King and his Cardinal.

With the closing of the court, Wolsey was in disrepute as far as King Henry was concerned. He had failed to get the King his divorce. Anne Boleyn tried to turn Henry's mind toward the beheading of Wolsey, but the King was not so inclined toward the Cardinal. However, that session of the court was the last time Wolsey was a power in England. Bishop Fisher would see Cardinal Wolsey sit as Lord Chancellor for the last time at Michaelmas, 1529, and would see him tried and found guilty of *praemunire*. He would learn of the Cardinal's banishment by King Henry to the North, and of the Cardinal's death in November, 1530, at Leicester Abbey, after uttering those tragic words, "If I had served my God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

The one who was to read the charges against Wolsey was Thomas More. It was hard on More, but it was his duty; for he knew, as well as Bishop Fisher and every other right-thinking person in England, that the Cardinal had been a dismal failure in the only thing which

should have counted: his Christianity. Wolsey was to be buried at the same place where King Richard had been laid to rest. The place would be called by the local people "the tyrants' sepulcher."

With the case recalled to Rome, Campeggio decided to leave England while he could. But when he tried to sail from Dover on October 10, 1529, his baggage was searched for fear, according to one of the searchers, that he was "carrying off the treasure of the Cardinal of York." The purpose of this inspection was to seize all papers concerned with the trial. On the 26th, Campeggio finally escaped with his life; he arrived in Paris on November 4. In Notre Dame Cathedral, he publicly thanked God that he was safe from the hands of the English.

CHAPTER XII

HENRY VIII AS HEAD OF THE CHURCH

WHEN PARLIAMENT met on November 3, 1529, to adopt a bill of complaints against abuses on the part of the clergy, Bishop Fisher girded himself for the impending battle which he knew was to be waged not only against the abuses of the clergy but against the clergy themselves. The purpose of the attack was to enable laymen to take over Church property. There would be nothing accomplished for the glory of God, but rather for the personal enrichment of King Henry's friends. Among the charges brought in the House of Commons were the following: "Priests are but stewards of bishops and abbots, to such a degree that poor husbandmen can have no services from them without paying dearly for such services; the holders of great benefices, having their living of their flocks, lie in the Court, in lords' houses, and spend nothing on their parishioners—such are our clergy; priests are so excessive in their exactions for corpse-presents that they would let dead men's children die of hunger or go abegging, sooner than give them in charity the cow which the dead man owed, though he had but one; when an examination of pa-

rochial affairs in England was made, it was found that while one priest, being but little learned, had ten or twelve benefices and was resident on none, many well-learned scholars had neither benefice nor exhibition."

In answer to the charges of the laymen, Bishop Fisher as Lord of Rochester retorted in an address to his peers: "My lords, you see clearly what bills come hither from the Common House, and all is to the destruction of the Church. For God's sake, see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom. Now, with the Commons is nothing but: 'Down with the Church.' And all this I believe is for lack of faith only."

The members of the House of Commons were enraged by Fisher's challenge to them and, through their speaker, Audley, made complaint to the King that Fisher had tried to discredit them by saying they lacked faith and were therefore nothing more or less than heretics and infidels. Henry summoned Fisher and asked why he had so spoken of the members of the House of Commons. Fisher replied that, as he was in council, he had spoken freely and as he thought, for the proper defense of the Catholic Church which was being wrongfully blamed for things which, whether they actually existed or not, were certainly not of the essence of the faith. He said he knew the true state of affairs better than the laity did, that he had tried to cleanse the Church of certain admitted barnacles which the more worldly prelates had brought to the great ship of faith,

but that to attack the Church itself or to condemn all the clergy for the evils of a few was both unjust and antichristian. Henry, still remembering Fisher's activities against his own divorce trial, warned the Bishop to speak more temperately or there would be trouble.

But Fisher was not one to be daunted by King Henry VIII. From a letter (November 22, 1530) written from Augsburg by the Mantuan ambassador Segismund to the Marquis of Mantua, we glean the fact that Fisher and the bishops of Bath and Ely were arrested by the King's orders because they appealed to the Apostolic See from Henry's own prohibition against any prelate's holding more than one church benefice in England.

Henry was about to carry out a program of confiscation and abuse against the clergy more severe than any ever known before in England. Chapuys, the imperial ambassador of Emperor Charles V from 1529 to the death of Bishop Fisher, wrote to the Emperor on January 23, 1531, as follows:

Nothing has yet been said in the estates concerning the affair of the Queen. They have been occupied with police arrangements against plague, and also what is considered to be the principal cause of this assembly: to exact a composition from the clergy, who heretofore acknowledged the legation of the Cardinal, and whom the King, as I wrote to Your Majesty, pretends to be liable to a confiscation in bodies and goods. Though the clergy knew themselves innocent, seeing that it was determined to find fault with them, they offered of their own accord one hundred and sixty thousand ducats, which the King refused to accept, swearing that

he will have four hundred thousand, or that he will punish every one of them with extreme rigor, so that they will be obliged to pass it, though it will compel them to sell their chalices and reliquaries. About five days ago it was agreed between the Nuncio and me that he should go to the said ecclesiastics in their congregation, and recommend them to support the immunity of the Church, and to inform themselves about the Queen's affair, showing them the letters which the Pope has written to them thereupon, and offering to intercede for them with the King about the gift with which he wishes to charge them. On his coming into the congregation, they were all utterly astonished and scandalized, and, without allowing him to open his mouth, they begged him to leave them in peace, for they had not the King's leave to speak with him, and if he came to execute any Apostolic mandate, he ought to address himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, their chief, who was not then present. The Nuncio accordingly returned without having public audience of them, and only explained his intention to the Bishop of London, their proctor, who said he would report it. But he will beware of doing so without having the King's command, for he is the principal promoter of these affairs.

The Bishop of Rochester lately sent to me, to say that the King had made new attempts to suborn him and others who hold for the Queen, telling him many follies and falsehoods; among other things, that the Pope had promised Cardinal Grammont that, whatever show he made of proceeding against the King, he would favor him to the utmost of his power, and that His Holiness was in secret a great enemy of your Majesty, because you wished to compel him to convoke the council. . . . The Nuncio had also heard something of these canards, and at my request he explained



A copy of an ancient map showing Michael House (of which Bishop Fisher was once Proctor) and certain colleges of Cambridge University which he helped to build. The view is of Cambridge University approximately as it was when John Fisher was Chancellor.

to the Bishop the truths about them. Next day the King sent for the Bishop early, to know what had passed between them, and the Bishop replied it was nothing, but that the Nuncio had expressed to him the desire the Pope had to convoke the council, and had requested him to do his best to promote it, both with the King and the clergy.

In the convocation held in the spring of 1531, certain clerics friendly to the King proposed that all the clergy should acknowledge Henry to be their supreme head. This proposal occasioned considerable agitation; because many were in favor of it and many were afraid to be against it, lest the King order them to the block. John Fisher again saved the Catholic faith in England. He showed how the acknowledgment would ruin everybody, including the King himself. And thus reassured that there was a strong force against the proposal, the convocation rejected it. Henry, upon hearing how Fisher opposed this new idea, fell into a rage. The King wondered at his own patience, marveled that he did not tear Bishop Fisher limb from limb. Controlling himself for the moment, he sent his orators back into the convocation to remind them of the peril they were in for their contempt of late years in accepting the legatine power of the Cardinal, whereby they had also incurred the danger of the law and laid their goods forfeit to the Crown.

Then the King summoned the chief prelates to his palace at Westminster and offered them peace and privilege if they would acknowledge him supreme head of

the Church of England. He also assured them that, if they would grant him merely this title, he would never by virtue of that grant assume any more power to himself or promulgate any spiritual law or exercise any spiritual jurisdiction. In fact, he would in no way whatsoever interfere with the customary ways and business of the Church. "Therefore," he ended, "having made you this frank promise, I do expect that you shall deal with me as frankly again, whereby agreement may the better continue between us." It was a threat but thinly veiled. When the clergy still hesitated to call Henry supreme head, the King's counselors warned the prelates that, after the King had promised so fully and readily to ask nothing more than the name, not to grant the new title was a sign of distrust. Many bishops began to yield, but again Fisher of Rochester rose and spoke against granting the title to a temporal prince. He told of the trouble that was brewing in the very suggestion of such a grant. "If ye grant to the King's request in this matter," he said, "it seems to me to portend an imminent and present danger at hand; for what if he should shortly after change his mind, and exercise indeed the supremacy over the Church of this realm? Or what if he should die, and then his successor challenge continuance of the same? Or what if the crown of this realm should in time fall to an infant or a woman, that shall still continue and take the same name upon them? What shall we do then? Whom shall we sue? Or where shall we have remedy?"

The King's counselors answered Fisher's objections by saying that, if the title were granted, the King would have no further authority by it than so much as is permitted by the law of God. But Fisher answered as ambiguously as the King's counselors proposed, asking what point would there be in giving the King a new title that carried no power. The counselors, angered, left the convocation, calling down the wrath of the King on the head of John Fisher. The other bishops, intimidated by the counselors' words, yielded to the King's demand and granted the title of Supreme Head of the Church in England. For the third time, John Fisher stood up in opposition to the grant, rebuking the prelates for their pusillanimity in being so easily persuaded. He was determined that such a grant would not leave the assembly in such an absolute form. Therefore, reminding the assembly that both the King and the King's counselors had used the words *quantum per legem Dei licet* ("so much as is permitted by the law of God"), he said: "If so be that you are fully determined to grant him his demand (which I rather wish you to deny than grant), yet, for a more true and plain exposition of your meaning towards the King and all his posterity, let these conditional words be expressed in your grant: *Quantum per legem Dei licet*. Which is no otherwise (as the King and his learned council say) than themselves mean." But the counselors shouted to have the grant passed absolutely and without the conditional clause; let the clergy trust in the good word of the

King. But the most weak-kneed of the prelates were prompted by their consciences to add the conditional words to the grant. Not being able to obtain an absolute grant, King Henry accepted the conditional one and granted the clergy, in turn, full pardon for their bodies and goods after they had paid him one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The grant to the King was dated February 11, 1531.

While this title to the King did not mean in the minds of the bishops the placing of Henry's authority against the authority of the Pope in Rome, it certainly was a step in the direction of discord. When the matter came before the Northern Convocation, Bishop Tunstal protested against the ecclesiastical title being given to a temporal prince, saying that Christ, the Supreme Head of the whole Church, had lodged spiritual and temporal jurisdictions in different persons. But King Henry replied that the texts cited to prove obedience due to princes comprehended all persons, clerical and lay, and that the Scripture made no exemption as to the matter of obedience. He argued that if princes could punish those who violated their own temporal laws, *a fortiori* they could punish those who violated divine laws; moreover, he said, all spiritual things in which liberty and property were concerned were necessarily included in the prince's power. He granted that no one denied that preaching and administering the sacraments were the rights of priests only, but he contended that kings were obliged to see that priests did their duty. "Our Lord,"

he said, "though a priest, submitted to Pilate's jurisdiction, and St. Paul appealed to Caesar." Such crimes as murder, felony, and treason when committed by a priest were reserved to the King's correction, but other instances of misbehavior were left to the correction of the bishops. There was no reference in Henry's answer to his assuming the power of the Pope; it was to be later, when Anne Boleyn and Henry were married, that Henry would demand that Parliament make him the "Pope of England."

Although the title was granted, it did not go well with the more sincere and religiously minded persons of England. Bishop Fisher, though allowing the grant to go through conditionally, was considerably chagrined at the very idea. Sir Thomas More was so mortified that he wished to resign his office as Chancellor of England. And what Fisher's direct opposition to the King's wishes would later mean to Fisher can be gauged from the following letter from Ambassador Chapuys to Emperor Charles V (under date of March 1, 1531):

The King of England, addressing the Peers yesterday, called their attention to the matter of the Bishop of Rochester's cook, a very extraordinary case. There was in the Bishop's house about ten days ago some pottage, of which all who tasted, that is, nearly all the servants, were brought to the point of death, though only two of them died, and some poor people to whom they had given it. The good Bishop, happily, did not taste it. The cook was immediately seized, at the instance of the Bishop's brother, and, it is said, confessed he had thrown in a powder which, he had

been given to understand, would only hocus the servants, without doing them any harm. I do not yet know whom he has accused of giving him this powder, nor the issue of the affair. The King has done well to show dissatisfaction at this; nevertheless he cannot wholly avoid some suspicion, if not against himself, whom I think too good to do such a thing, at least against the Lady (Anne Boleyn) and her father.

The said Bishop of Rochester is very ill, and has been so ever since the acknowledgment made by the clergy, of which I wrote. But, notwithstanding his indisposition, he has arranged to leave this tomorrow by the King's leave. I know not why, being ill, he is anxious to go on a journey, especially as he will get better attendance of physicians here than elsewhere, unless it be that he will no longer be a witness of things done against the Church, or that he fears there is some more powder in reserve for him.

If the King desired to treat of the affair of the Queen, the absence of the said Bishop, and of the Bishop of Durham (late of London), would be unfortunate.

The attempt to poison Bishop Fisher was a matter of consideration for Parliament. The Act dealing with it said in part:

And now in the time of this present Parliament, that is to say, in the eighteenth day of February, in the twenty-second year of his (Henry's) most victorious reign (1531), one Richard Roose, late of Rochester, in the county of Kent, cook, otherwise called Richard Cook, of his most damnable and wicked disposition, did cast a certain venom or poison into a vessel replenished with yeast or barm, standing in the kitchen of the Reverend Father in God, John, Bishop of Rochester, at his place in Lamehyth Marsh

(Lambeth) . . . with which yeast . . . seventeen persons . . . were mortally infected and poisoned, and one of them, that is to say, Burnet Curwen, gentleman, thereof is deceased . . . and certain poor people which resorted to the said Bishop's place and were there charitably fed with the remains of the said porridge and other victuals, were in likewise infected, and one poor woman of them, that is to say, Alice Trippit, widow, is also thereof now deceased. . . . Because that detestable offence now newly practiced and committed requires condign punishment for the same, it is ordained and enacted by authority of this present Parliament that the said Richard Roose shall be therefore boiled to death, without having any advantage of his clergy; and that all future poisonings shall be deemed high treason, and similarly punished by boiling.

In connection with the boiling of this poisoner and also in connection with the burning of a heretic named John Frith in Smithfield, we should note that John Fisher was one of the mildest of men and would never, of his own volition, ask for the death of either man. Both Roose and Frith were condemned to death by the secular authority. Fisher was, without doubt, appalled by the crimes of the men; but like Christ, Fisher could love the sinner while hating the sin. Fisher's great weapon was argument; he won by force of reason and holiness, not by force of torture.

CHAPTER XIII

HENRY'S MARRIAGE TO ANNE BOLEYN

ALL THE while, Anne Boleyn was waiting to claim Henry as her husband. She knew, better than anybody else, that the one man who was standing in her path was Bishop John Fisher of Rochester. Chapuys wrote, on October 9, 1531, "The Lady fears no one here more than the Bishop of Rochester, for it is he who has always defended the Queen's cause; and she (Anne) has therefore sent to persuade the Bishop to forbear coming to this Parliament, that he may not catch any sickness, as he did last year; but it is of no use, for he is resolved to come and to speak more boldly than he has ever done, should he die a hundred thousand times." And on January 22, 1532, Chapuys wrote:

On the thirteenth, the session of Parliament began. . . . The assembly is numerous, being attended by almost all the lords, temporal as well as spiritual. Only the Bishop of Durham, one of the Queen's good champions, has not been called in; no more has Rochester, as I have been informed, though this last has not failed to come and is actually in town, intending to tell the King the plain truth about the divorce and speak without disguise. No sooner did the King hear of this Bishop's arrival than he sent him word he was



Sir Thomas More
(1527)

From the painting by Holbein in the Collection of Edward Huth, Esq.

very glad at his coming and had many important things to say to him. The Bishop, fearing lest the communication which the King said he had to make should be for the purpose of begging him not to speak on the subject, seized the moment when the King was going to mass, attended by the gentlemen of his household, to make his reverence and present his respects—thus avoiding, if possible, the said communication. The King received him more graciously and put on a better mien than ever he had done before, deferring the conversation till after the mass; but the good Bishop, owing to the above fears, prudently retired before the mass was over.

When the convocation met in May, 1532, Fisher was too ill to attend. But the following incident shows how highly he was now regarded by the other prelates for his bold and Christlike manner in encouraging good and discouraging evil. The King made three demands on the clergy: (1) that no future constitution should be made without the King's approval; (2) that all former canons should be submitted to the judgment of a commission of thirty-two persons, sixteen of the clergy and sixteen of the laity, all to be appointed by the King; (3) that such constitutions as should be found unobjectionable should have the royal assent given to them. In other words, the clergy were not to be free to exercise the powers given them by Christ, but were to be subject to the royal pleasure. When the prelates heard the King's demands, they began to understand what they had granted him in calling him the supreme head of the Church in England. Yet they were resolved to do

something about it. Fisher was the man to turn to; but he was sick and was not present. Hence the convocation adopted a measure calling for the sending of four of the Upper House and six of the Lower House to the Bishop of Rochester to learn his advice in the matter, and the assembly was adjourned for three days to give time for the Bishop's advice to arrive. Fisher was against granting the King's demands, but Henry saw to it that they were granted, though limited to his own lifetime and not granted for his royal successors. But no matter how the thing was worded, the Act was afterward rightly referred to as the Submission of the Clergy. It was passed on May 15, 1532.

On June 20, Chapuys wrote: "About twelve days ago the Bishop of Rochester preached in favor of the Queen, and has been in danger of prison and other trouble. He has shut the mouths of those who spoke in the King's favor, but the treatment of the Queen is not improved." This, we should remember, was the work of a man now past seventy years of age, a fiery old priest, a noble old bishop, a learned old man who would much prefer to be reading the lives of the saints than to be unfolding and disclosing the lives of bold sinners like Henry and Anne. As the story continues, it calls forth more and more admiration for the holy priest, and with the admiration, a wish that every priest might be like John Fisher. He was like an angel of God trumpeting forth to all men the invincible dogmas of Christ Himself, the saving theology of the Catholic Church, trumpeting

them forth without regard to the mighty forces of opposition.

The clergy's submission and Henry's calling them "half Englishmen" because they took an oath to the Pope, was the last straw for Sir Thomas More. Up to now he was still Chancellor of England. But he knew what was happening; he could read the stars. More had taken office under this express condition: "first to look unto God, and after God to his Prince." This would no longer be possible, with Henry casting slurs at things pertaining to God. He sent for the Duke of Norfolk, who came and found him in the chapel next to his house in Chelsea. More was wearing a white surplice and singing in the family choir. As they went from the church to More's home, Norfolk protested, saying: "My Lord Chancellor, a parish clerk, a parish clerk. You dishonor the King and his office." But Thomas More smiled and answered: "Nay, for serving God, the King's Master?" And then, pleading ill health, More humbly begged the Duke of Norfolk to have King Henry accept the seal from him and free him from the office of chancellor. Henry's heart must have been heavy that day; for he knew Sir Thomas More was a real Christian. And if More condemned Henry, was there not something to worry about?

With Cromwell as King's man in 1532, a change was about to take place, a change that would be consummated at the end of the year when Archbishop Warham died, and Cranmer, the foul and scurrilous churchman,

became Archbishop of Canterbury in Warham's place.

In February, 1533, Parliament again convened. Though the divorce case had gone to Rome for trial, it was necessary for Parliament to hurry and declare as valid Henry's secret marriage with Anne Boleyn; because Anne was pregnant and would give birth to Princess Elizabeth on the seventh of September, 1533. Cranmer was consecrated Archbishop on March 13, and on the 31st Chapuys wrote: "The King was only waiting for the bulls of the Archbishop of Canterbury in order to proceed to the decision of his marriage; which having arrived from Rome within these five days, to the great regret of everybody, the King was so extremely urgent with the convocation here to determine his said affair that those present could scarcely eat or drink, and he used such terms to them that no one dared open his mouth to contradict, except the good Bishop of Rochester. But his single voice cannot avail against the majority, so that the Queen and he now consider her cause desperate. It is expected that the new marriage will be solemnized before Easter, or immediately after."

The King was not going to allow Fisher to be present to ridicule his mock-marriage with Anne, nor would he allow either the Bishop or the Pope to interfere with the citation of Queen Catherine; there was already a Parliamentary law forbidding any appeal from London to Rome under the pain of confiscation of body and goods of anyone who dared appeal. Fisher was arrested, by the

King's orders, on April 6, 1533. Chapuys, four days later, informed the Emperor on the subject:

Last Sunday, being Palm Sunday, the King made the Bishop of Rochester prisoner and put him under the charge of the Bishop of Winchester; which is a very strange thing, as he is the most holy and learned prelate in Christendom. The King gave out in Parliament that this was done because the Bishop had insinuated that Rochford had gone to France with a commission to present a vast sum of money to the Chancellor of France and the Cardinal of Lorraine, to persuade the Pope by a bribe to ratify this new marriage, or at all events to overlook it and proceed no further. . . . The real cause of the Bishop's detention is his manly defense of the Queen's cause.

Accordingly, with Fisher a prisoner, Parliament decreed during Passion Week of 1533 that the marriage of Queen Catherine and King Henry VIII was null and void, and that the King was free to marry (Anne Boleyn). The appeal to the Pope was forbidden absolutely, and all dispensations affecting marriage, plurality of benefices, and so forth, were abrogated. Finally Parliament prohibited obedience to any and all papal warnings and interdicts. On the twenty-third of May, Archbishop Cranmer declared Henry's marriage with Catherine null and void (as Parliament had already declared), and on May twenty-eighth Cranmer declared the marriage of Henry and Anne valid. On the first of June (the Feast of Pentecost), Anne Boleyn was

crowned Queen of England amid great splendor and solemnity. At the ceremony the time-serving prelates, Bishop Stokesley of London and Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, "bore up the laps of her robe" while she was being crowned by Archbishop Cranmer. All this was done, of course, while poor John Fisher, the Christ-like bishop, was held helpless and against his will in a small place owned by Gardiner of Winchester. He was held prisoner until June 13, more than two months from the beginning of his imprisonment.

Sad and worried, not for himself but for the very ones who had acted against him, John Fisher on his release returned to his own diocese. He was of heavy heart. All his life he had tried to do good; he had believed in the all-saving power of Christ's blood shed on the cross. Now it appeared that there were not a dozen good people in all England. Where had the faith gone? Of course, he remembered the speeches of John Colet against the arrogance of the clergy and the sensuality of the laity. Fisher recalled the speeches which he himself had had to make against the pomp and haughtiness of Cardinal Wolsey. The wind had been sown by selfish men, and now England was reaping the whirlwind.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHARGE OF MISPRISION OF TREASON

AMIDST FISHER'S activities in behalf of the Catholic Church in England, it was inevitable that some excuse should arise for the new enemies of the Church, Cromwell and Cranmer, to persecute the Bishop under the guise of prosecuting him for violation of the English law. The excuse came in the form of a nun, a Benedictine of the House of St. Sepulcher in Canterbury, a holy woman, Elizabeth Barton by name, who in later years was considered somewhat hysterical. She had cherished a great devotion to the Blessed Virgin and claimed to have received revelations through the Mother of God. Since the revelations were all pious and in keeping with the teachings of the Church, Archbishop Warham of Canterbury had allowed her to express them, without comment from himself. But then the nun began to go into trances, and the Archbishop appointed the Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, and two of his monks (Doctor Richard Bocking and Master William Hadley) to go to Court-up-Street, observe the trances, and make a report on them. After the report, Doctor Bocking was appointed confessor to the nun, who by this

time was becoming widely known as "the Holy Maid of Kent." All was well until Henry's divorce from Catherine became a matter of countrywide discussion. Then the nun gave forth revelations that were regarded as political and treasonable.

She told many stories of what would happen to Cardinal Wolsey after his death. She said: "An angel bade me go to the King, that infidel prince, and command him to amend his life, not to usurp the Pope's rights, to put down the new learning; and to say that, if he married Anne, the vengeance of God would plague him." She said that she did as the angel bade her; and then the angel told her to go again and tell the King that, if he did not take back his wife Catherine, he would not live more than six months after marrying Anne and that from the moment of this nominal marriage Henry would cease to be King of England in the sight of God. The alleged angelic revelation in regard to the "six months of life after marrying Anne" was obviously wrong, and therefore the Maid of Kent's revelations are of dubious genuineness. However, her ideas of Wolsey, Henry, Anne, and others of her time were very true.

At any rate, the stories she circulated did not go well with King Henry. Accordingly, with the new Secretary Cromwell and the new Archbishop Cranmer, Henry ordered numerous arrests in the autumn of 1533. Those arrested were indicted and attainted in Parliament of various crimes, some of treason and others of

misprision of treason. Those attainted of treason were: the nun Elizabeth Barton; Doctor Bocking and John Dering, Benedictine monks of Canterbury; Hugh Rich and Richard Risby, Observant Franciscans; Richard Master, parish priest of Aldington; and Henry Gold, parish priest of Aldermary, London. They were all executed at Tyburn on April 21, 1534. Those attainted of misprision of treason were: John Fisher bishop of Rochester; John Adeson the Bishop's chaplain; Thomas Abell chaplain to Queen Catherine; Thomas Lawrence registrar to the Archdeacon of Canterbury; and Thomas Gold and Edward Thwaytes, laymen.

Thomas More, judging from his remarks about the "detestable hypocrisy" of the Maid of Kent, thought her an impostor. But More may simply have accepted the judgment of Cromwell, who claimed to have a confession of fraud from the nun but never proved that his confession was genuine. As regards Bishop Fisher, it makes no particular difference whether Elizabeth Barton actually received revelations, thought she received them, or merely pretended to receive them to deceive the public. It was said that the Bishop had heard from the lips of the nun, long before the fact of the "revelation" was made public, that she had had a vision of the King going down to hell and staying there in punishment forever and ever; and that the Bishop never revealed to the authorities these "revelations" he had heard from the nun. In December, 1533, after obtaining vast sums of money from those held on the charge of treason

(even though they were not to be freed but were, on the contrary, to be executed), Cromwell sent to Fisher asking for a plea for pardon from the King, together with an offering of money to pay for the pardon. The Bishop of Rochester, very ill at his home, wrote from his bed to Cromwell that he was neither asking pardon nor sending money to pay for the same: first, because his motive in communicating with the nun Elizabeth Barton had been to ascertain whether or not her revelations were from God; secondly, because Archbishop Warham had spoken to him about the nun and the revelations and was in doubt as to their authenticity; thirdly, because he wished to examine the revelations, since at times revelations are made by God to certain chosen people in this world.

Cromwell condemned the Bishop for his imprudence, prejudices, and partisanship in everything concerning Queen Catherine, saying the Bishop had not taken the necessary steps to learn the truth in the matter and that, in the case of the nun, Fisher was stubborn in defending himself instead of humbly asking pardon for any offense he might have committed. But this was not going to worry Fisher. He was not one to be intimidated by a none-too-bright secretary, when he had already defied a cardinal legate and the King of England. Fisher wrote as follows:

After my right humble commendations, I beg of you that I be no further moved to make answer to your letters, for I see that my answer will have to grow into a great book,

or else be insufficient, and you will still therefore take occasion to be offended, and I shall profit nothing. For I perceive that everything I wrote is ascribed either to craft or to wilfulness or to affectation or to unkindness against my Sovereign; so that my writing rather provokes you to displeasure than it furthers me in any point concerning your favor, which I most effectually covet. There is nothing I read in all your long letters that gives me any comfort except the subscription wherein you were pleased to call yourself my friend; which, I assure you, was a word of much consolation to me, and therefore I beseech you so to continue and so to show yourself to me at this time.

In two points of my writing methought ye were most offended, and both concerned the King's Grace. The one was where I excused myself by the displeasure which his Highness took with me when I spoke once or twice to him of like matters. The other was where I touched his great matter. And as to the first, I think it very hard that I am not allowed to signify to you such things secretly as might be most effectual for my excuse. And as to the second, my study and purpose were especially to decline from offending his Grace in that behalf, for then I must needs declare my conscience, a thing which (as I then wrote) I would be loath to do any more largely than I have done. Not that I condemn any other men's consciences. Their consciences may save them, and mine must save me. Wherefore, good Master Cromwell, I beseech you for the love of God be contented with this my answer and give credence to my brother in such things as he has to say to you. Thus, fare you well.

Bishop Fisher was an old man at the time this letter was written (January 31, 1534). He suffered from aching feet and legs, together with the cough of tuber-

culosis, which disease was slowly consuming his body. Parliament met on January 15, and on February 21 the bill of misprision of treason against Fisher was duly read in the House for the first time; and it was read for the second time five days later. Unable to attend his own trial, owing to sickness, Fisher wrote the following two letters, one to the King and the other to the House of Lords, letters which are so full of Fisher's spirit that they deserve to be given in full:

To the King's Most Gracious Highness,

May it please your gracious Highness benignly to hear this most humble suit which I make to your Grace at this time and to pardon me that I come not myself to your Grace for the same. For, in good faith, I have had so many perilous diseases, one after another, which began before Advent, and so by long continuance have now brought my body into such weakness, that without peril of destruction of the same (which I dare say your Grace for your sovereign goodness would not wish), I may not as yet attempt any traveling. And so I wrote to Master Cromwell, your most trusty counsellor, beseeching him to obtain your gracious license for me to be absent from this Parliament, for that same cause, and he put me in comfort so to do.

Now, thus it is (most gracious Sovereign Lord) that in your most high court of Parliament there is put in a bill against me, concerning the nun of Canterbury, for the purpose of condemning me for not revealing such words as she said to me concerning your Highness. Wherefore, I most humbly beseech your Grace that without displeasing you I may show you the consideration that moved me so to do, which, when your most excellent wisdom has deeply con-

sidered, I trust assuredly will not cause your charitable goodness to impute any blame to me therefore.

A truth it is, this nun was with me thrice in coming from London by Rochester, as I wrote to Master Cromwell, showing him the occasions of her coming and of my sendings to her again.

The first time she came to my house, unsent for of my part, she told me that she had been with your Grace and that she had shown you a revelation which she had from Almighty God (your Grace, I hope, will not be displeased with my repetition of it) and that she said that if your Grace went forth with the purpose that you intended, you should not be King of England seven months after.

I conceived not by these words, I take it upon my soul, that any malice or evil was intended or meant to your Highness, by any mortal man, but only that they were the threats of God, as she then affirmed.

And though they were feigned, that (as I would be saved) was to me unknown. I never counselled her to that feigning nor was privy thereto, nor to any such purposes as they are now said to have gone about.

Assuredly, if she had told me this revelation and had not also told me that she had reported the same to your Grace, I would have been verily far to blame and worthy of extreme punishment for not disclosing the same to your Highness or to some of your council. But since she assured me that she had plainly told your Grace the same thing, I thought doubtless that your Grace would have suspected that I had come in to renew her tale again to you, rather for the confirming of my opinion than for any other cause.

I beseech your Highness to take no displeasure with me for what I am about to say. There stick yet, most gracious Sovereign, in my heart—to my no little heaviness—your

grievous letters and the most fearful words which your Grace said to me for showing you my mind and opinion in the same matter, notwithstanding that your Highness had so often and so straitly commanded me to search for the same before. And for this cause I truly loathed to come to your Grace again with such a tale pertaining to that matter.

Many other considerations I had but this was the major cause why I came not to your Grace. For, in good faith, I dreaded lest I should thereby have provoked your Grace to further displeasure against me.

My Lord of Canterbury also, who was your great counsellor, told me that she had been with your Grace and had shown you this same matter and of him (as I will answer before God) I learned greater things of her pretended visions than she told me herself. And, at the same time, I showed him that she had been with me and told me what I have written herein.

I trust now that your excellent wisdom and learning see there is in me no fault for not revealing her words to your Grace, when she herself affirmed to me that she had so done, and the late Lord of Canterbury confirmed the same also.

Wherefore, most gracious Sovereign Lord, in my most humble wise, I beseech your Highness to dismiss me of this trouble whereby I shall the more quietly serve God and the more effectually pray for your Grace. This, if there were a right great offence in me, should be to your merit to pardon, but much rather—taking the case as it is—I trust verily you will so do.

Now, my body is much weakened with many diseases and infirmities and my soul is much disturbed by this trouble, so that my heart is more withdrawn from God and from the devotion of prayer than I would. And verily, I think that my life may not long continue. Wherefore, eftsoons, I be-

seech your most Gracious Highness that by your charitable goodness I may be delivered of this business and allowed to prepare my soul to God and to make it ready against the coming of death—and no more to come abroad in the world. This, most gracious Sovereign Lord, I beseech your Highness, by all the singular and excellent endowments of your most noble body and soul and for the love of Christ Jesus who so dearly with His Most Precious Blood redeemed your soul and mine. And during my life I shall not cease (as I am bound)—and yet now the more entirely—to make my prayer to God for the preservation of your most Royal Majesty.

At Rochester, the twenty-seventh of February.

Your most humble beadsman and subject,

Jo. Roffes.

Bishop Fisher thus signed the letters with his ecclesiastical title. The ecclesiastical name of Rochester was *Roffa*; hence the Bishop of Rochester was called *Roffensis*. The Latin for John being *Johannes*, John Fisher the Bishop of Rochester was ecclesiastically *Johannes Roffensis* or *Jo. Roffes*.

His letter to the House of Lords read as follows:

My Lords,

After my most humble commendations to all your good lordships who sit in this most high court of Parliament, I beseech in like manner that you hear this my suit which by necessity I am now driven to make to all your lordships in writing because I may not, by reason of disease and weakness, at this time be present myself before you without peril of destruction to my body, as heretofore I have written to Mr. Cromwell who gave me comfort to obtain of the King's

Grace respite for my absence until I am recovered. If I could have been present myself, I doubt not the great weakness of my body—with other manifold infirmities—would have moved you much rather to have pity on my cause and matter, whereby I am put under this grievous trouble.

So it is, my good lords, that I am informed of a certain bill that is put into this high court against me and others concerning the matter of the nun of Canterbury, which thing causes me no little heaviness, especially in the piteous condition that I am in.

Nevertheless, I trust in your Honors' wisdom and consciences, that you will not in this high court suffer any act of condemnation to pass against me until my cause is well and duly heard. And, therefore, in my most humble wise, I beseech all you, my lords, in the way of charity, and for the love of Christ, and for the mean season, it may please you to consider that I sought not for this woman's coming to me nor thought in her any manner of deceit. She was a person that by many probable and likely conjectures I then reputed to be right honest, religious and very good and virtuous. I verily supposed that such feigning and craft, compassing of any guile or fraud, had been far from her. And what fault was this in me so to think, when I had so many probable testimonies of her virtue?

First, the bruit of the country, which generally called her "the Holy Maid"; secondly, her entrance into religion upon certain visions which it was commonly said she had; thirdly, for the good religion and learning that was thought to be in her ghostly father and in other virtuous and well-learned priests who then testified of her holiness, as it was commonly reported; and finally, the late Lord of Canterbury, both her Ordinary and a man of reputed high wisdom

and learning, told me that she had many great visions. And of him I learned greater things than ever I heard of the nun herself. Your wisdoms, I doubt not, here see plainly that in me there was no fault to believe this woman to be honest, religious, and of good credence.

For, since I am bound by the law of God to believe the best of every person until the contrary be proved, how much more was I obliged so to believe of this woman who had so many probable testimonies of her goodness and virtue!

But here it will be said that she told me something which was to the peril of the prince and of the realm. Surely I am right sorry to make any repetition of her words, but necessity compels me so to do. The words that she told me concerning the peril of the King's Highness were these: she said that she had her revelation from God, that if the King went forth with the purpose that he intended, he should not be King of England seven months after; and she told me, also, that she had been with the King and had shown his Grace the same revelation.

Though this was forged by her or any other, how is it my fault when I knew nothing of that forgery? If I had given her any counsel to the forging of this revelation or had any knowledge that it was feigned, I would have been worthy of great blame and punishment. But whereas I never gave her any counsel to this matter nor knew of any forging or feigning thereof, I trust your great wisdoms will not think there is any fault in me touching this point.

And as I will answer before the throne of Christ, I knew not of any malice or evil that was intended by her, or by any other earthly creature, to the King's Highness: her words did not so sound that by any temporal or worldly

power such thing was intended, but only by the power of God, of whom, as she then said, she had this revelation to show to the King.

But here it will be said that I should have shown the words to the King's Highness. Verily, if I had not undoubtedly thought she had shown the same words to his Grace, my duty would have been so to have done. But when she herself who pretended to have had this revelation from God, had shown the same, I saw no necessity why I should renew it again to his Grace. For her esteemed honesty, qualified—as I said before—with so many probable testimonies, affirming to me that she had told the same to the King, caused me right assuredly to think that she had shown the same words to his Grace. And not only her own saying thus persuaded me, but her Prioress's words confirmed the same, and their servants also reported to my servants that she had been with the King. And yet besides all this, I knew it not long after that so it was indeed. I thought, therefore, that it was not for me to repeat the nun's words to the King again, when his Grace knew them already as she herself had told him before. And surely diverse other causes dissuaded me so to do, which are not here openly to be repeated. Nevertheless, when they shall be heard, I doubt not but they will altogether clearly excuse me as concerns this matter.

My suit, therefore, to all you, my honorable Lords, at this time is that no act of condemnation concerning this matter be suffered to pass against me in this high court until I am heard—or else some other for me—so that I can declare myself to be guiltless herein.

And this I most humbly beseech you all, on your charitable goodnesses, and also if—peradventure in the meantime—there shall be thought any negligence in me for not revealing this matter to the King's Highness, you, for the

punishment of what has transpired in the past, ordain no new law but let me be judged according to the laws which have been already made, which laws I must and will obey.

Beseeching always the King's most noble Grace that his laws may be ministered to me with favor and equity and not with the strictest rigor, I need not here advise your most high wisdoms to look up to God and upon your own souls in ordaining such laws for the punishment of negligences or of other deeds which are already past, nor yet to look upon the perils which might happen to yourselves in like cases. For there sits not one lord here but may find himself in some like circumstance as is imputed to me.

And therefore, eftsoons, I beseech all your benign charities to tender this my most humble suit as you would be tendered if you were in the same danger yourselves, to do this for the reverence of Christ, for the discharge of your own souls and for the honor of this most High Court; and, finally, to act for your own sureties and for those of others that hereafter shall succeed you, for I verily trust in Almighty God that, by the succor of His grace, and your charitable supportations, I shall so declare myself that every nobleman who sits here shall have good reason to be therewith satisfied. Thus our Lord have you all, this most honorable Court, in His protection. Amen.

While Bishop Fisher was thus pleading for justice, not mercy, Sir Thomas More (who also was involved in the matter) was writing letters freeing himself of all blame, but declining to apologize for his part in the affair: his having listened to the nun while she foretold dire results for the King of England, King Henry, if he went marrying Anne Boleyn. Thomas More's letter was dated March fifth. But the next day, the bill against

them all was read for a third time in Parliament, and the lords discussed whether they should demand the actual bodily presence of Sir Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher of Rochester to answer personally in the Star Chamber rather than allow the letters of the pair to suffice as answer. But the lords finally decided to rule against Fisher and the others—excepting More, whose name was struck off the roll, presumably at the order of King Henry himself. On the twelfth, the bill was engrossed on parchment and passed the lords, passed through Commons and returned to the lords on the seventeenth, delivered to the Chancellor on the twentieth, brought back the next day and given royal assent on the thirtieth of March.

The Act in effect ruled that Fisher and the others previously named were convicted of misprision of treason and were condemned to suffer imprisonment of their bodies and the forfeiture of their goods. Fisher's bishopric was not taken from him, but the benefices of John Adeson and Thomas Abell were declared ready for other occupancy—and well they might be, considering what was shortly to happen to them. England and the world knew what was back of all this ado over what a nun said. The imperial ambassador Chapuys wrote to Emperor Charles: "The good Bishop of Rochester, who is the paragon of Christian prelates, both for learning and holiness, has been condemned to confiscation of body and goods. All this injustice is in consequence of his support of the Queen."

Anne Boleyn had given birth to a girl, the future Queen Elizabeth, on the seventh of September, 1533. The event dismayed all England; because one of the principal reasons why Henry VIII had deserted Queen Catherine for Anne Boleyn was to obtain a male heir, presumably another Henry.

And when Anne failed to produce a male child, the more superstitious people in England asked: "Is not this an omen of God's wrath on the King? In the eighth Henry has not God almighty had enough of Henrys? Is not this proof that Anne is not pleasing to the Lord?" The friends of Queen Catherine spread the news throughout the land, making caustic comments of a type derogatory to Anne.

Anne heard some of the remarks and, brazen though she was, they stung her. She demanded that Henry do something to make her Queen of England beyond question. Henry may have doubted his own ability to do this, but he could put on the outward appearances. Accordingly, in March of 1534, Parliament was forced to declare Princess Mary (the daughter of Queen Catherine) illegitimate, and the offspring of Anne Boleyn the rightful heirs to the throne of England.

To enforce the Act, Parliament passed a sanction providing that all persons in the realm must swear to the Act or become guilty of misprision of treason. Lord Chancellor Audley, Secretary Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, and the Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Suffolk, together with the Abbot of Westminster, drew

up the following oath to be sworn to by all good Englishmen:

Ye shall swear to bear your faith, truth, and obedience, alonely to the King's Majesty, and to the heirs of his body according to the limitation and rehearsal within this statute of succession, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority, prince, or potentate; and in case any oath be made, or hath been made by you, to any other person or persons, that you thus do repute the same as vain and annihilate; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend this Act, and all the whole contents and effects thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made since the beginning of this present Parliament, in confirmation or for the due execution of the same, or of anything therein contained.

And thus ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be, and in nowise do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretense or cause. So help you God and all saints.

With the various lords responding, "I do so swear, so help me God and all the saints," all was well until shortly after the first of April in 1534, when King Henry, having been snubbed again and again by the Pope, decided that a more vigorous oath should be demanded, one in which the clergy should be compelled

explicitly to renounce the authority of the Pope. So a new oath was adopted.

On April 19, 1534, Rowland Lee, who was consecrated by Archbishop Cranmer, swore according to the new oath, as follows: "I acknowledge and recognize your Majesty immediately under Almighty God to be the Chief and Supreme Head of the Church of England, and claim to have the Bishopric of Chester wholly and only of your gift." No bulls were asked of the Pope for Lee's appointment and "consecration."

King Henry was pleased with Lee and decided to have all the bishops take a new oath, repudiating the authority of the Pope. There was much confusion as to what wording would be best; therefore several oaths were written and severally taken by most of the clergy. Two oaths in particular are worthy of attention. One was worded thus: "From this day forward I shall swear, promise, give or cause to be given to no foreign potentate, nor yet to the Bishop of Rome whom they call the pope, any oath or fealty, directly or indirectly, but at all times, and in every case and condition, I shall maintain the quarrel and cause of your Royal Majesty and your successors. I profess the Papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by Holy Scripture, etc." The other oath, more severe and to the point, read as follows: "I promise to bear faith and true obedience to the King and to the issue of his present marriage with Queen Anne; to acknowledge him the Head of the Church of

England; and to renounce all obedience to the Bishop of Rome, as having no more power than any other bishop."

It had been Henry's idea originally to intimidate the Pope into calling Catherine's marriage invalid and Anne's valid. But on Holy Saturday of 1534 the news of the Pope's pronouncement that Catherine's marriage was valid (and hence, Anne's invalid) reached England. King Henry celebrated Easter by ordering all the preachers in the realm to say the very worst things they could think of against the Pope. That the preachers did as they were commanded is attested by a letter of Ambassador Chapuys in which he says, "they have acquitted themselves desperately, saying the most outrageous and abominable things in the world." With rage in his heart, Henry called for a minute record of every peer, bishop, abbot, prior, college president, and lord in the realm, demanding their obedience to himself as the one and only Head of the Church in England and a complete renunciation of all allegiance to the Pope of Rome. The King's will had a complete victory except for two men, the same two men who had decried the vanity of Cardinal Wolsey, the same two who had previously caused Henry trouble—Sir Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher.

For the last time in his life, John Fisher celebrated solemn mass in his Cathedral at Rochester on Easter Sunday, 1534. His health had improved and he was at peace with God but heavy-hearted at the turn of events



Princess Mary
(about 1537)

From the painting in the University Galleries, Oxford,
England.

in England. With a foreboding of his coming imprisonment and death at the block, he let the tears flow freely on the altar. The cathedral was filled by a congregation made up of men and women from various parts of England who had heard of Fisher's plight, men and women who knew him for a saint. They wept bitterly that this old Bishop, thin and worn and weak, would shortly be put to death because of his loyalty to God.

Before departing for London, Bishop Fisher saw to it that all the attendants in his house were given enough pay to tide them over for several years; he then gave them permission to seek employment elsewhere, and meanwhile to eat and sleep in his house. He gave one hundred pounds sterling (equal to about \$12,000) to Michael House, Cambridge, and he left a sum four times that amount to be used in caring for the poor of Rochester.

Bishop Fisher rode on a donkey out through Rochester towards Lambeth. His head bare and his lips smiling, even though his eyes were sad, the Bishop blessed the crowds that lined his way. There arose a cry, "Woe be to them that are the cause of his trouble!" On and on rode Fisher to London, stopping only at Shooter's Hill for a light luncheon. It was a long, hard journey for a sick man to make, from Rochester to London in one day, on a donkey. According to Cardinal Pole (when later writing of this journey), during it the Bishop swooned from weakness.

On Monday, April 13, 1534, Bishop Fisher met Sir

Thomas More at Lambeth prior to his appearing before the commissioners. More greeted Fisher with the words, "Well met, my Lord; I hope we shall meet in heaven." To which Fisher replied, "This should be the way, Sir Thomas, for it is a very strait gate we are in." Together with a Doctor Wilson (one time confessor to the King), More and Fisher went before the commissioners. Wilson, refusing to take the oath against the Pope, was immediately taken to the Tower. Sir Thomas More refused the oath and then waited for the coming of the clergy who had not been present, so that he might refuse the oath again in their presence. On Friday he was sent to the Tower. Bishop Fisher, called on to take the oath after More, had refused to do so and had preceded More to the Tower. Between Monday, when he appeared before the commissioners, and Thursday, when he was committed to the Tower of London, Bishop Fisher rested in his own house at Lambeth Marsh. There, as Chancellor of Cambridge University (for the position, it will be remembered, was for his lifetime), he received two fellows of St. John's College, Seton and Brandsby, who came to have him confirm the statutes under his seal. Fisher said he would have to read them and give them consideration before he could confirm them. He had had enough of the machinations of the King and the King's henchmen. For all Fisher knew, this might be another trick of some sort. But the two fellows told him, "We fear the time is now too short for you to read them, before

you go to prison." "Then," said Fisher, "I'll read them in prison." "Nay," they said, "that will hardly do." "Then," said Fisher, finally, "let God's will be done, for I will never allow under my seal a thing that I have not well and substantially viewed and considered." On Thursday, called to the commissioners for his final verdict, whether or not he would take the oath, Fisher answered: "If you will needs have me answer directly, my answer is that, forasmuch as mine own conscience cannot be satisfied, I do absolutely refuse the oath." Whereupon he was taken forthwith to the Tower of London.

The reason for the refusal of More and Fisher to take the oath is by this time so obvious as to need no further comment except to state that, even if the part concerning the repudiation of the Pope's authority had been omitted, men with right consciences would not have been free to take the oath; because it made Mary illegitimate and Elizabeth legitimate, and it sanctioned the previous acts of Parliament. Thomas More had said to the commissioners: "Though I would not deny to swear to the succession, yet to the oath that was there offered me I could not swear, without jeopardizing my soul to perpetual damnation." Because of this attitude, Cranmer thought that it would be a good idea to get Fisher and More to swear to the Act itself, without swearing to the preamble, and then give it out that the two had taken the oath (even though it would be only part of the oath which the others had taken). Cranmer wrote a

letter to that effect to Secretary Cromwell, who replied, saying:

My Lord, after my humble commendation, it may please your Grace to be advised that I have received your letter and shown the same to the King's Highness, who, perceiving that your mind and opinion is that it were good that the Bishop of Rochester and Master More should be sworn to the King's succession and not to the preamble of the same, thinks that if their oaths were to be taken, it would be an occasion for all men to refuse the whole or at least the like. For, in case they be sworn to the succession and not to the preamble, it is to be thought that it might be taken not only as a confirmation of the Bishop of Rome's authority but also as a reprobation of the King's second marriage. Wherefore, to the intent that no such things should be brought into the heads of the people by the example of the said Bishop of Rochester and Master More, the King's Highness in no way wills but that they shall be sworn as well to the preamble as to the Act. Wherefore his Grace especially trusts that you will in no way attempt or move him to the contrary; for, as his Grace supposes, that manner of swearing, if it were to be suffered, might be to the utter destruction of his whole cause and also to the effect of the law made for the same.

On May first, the oath was again offered to Fisher and again refused. It was again offered to More and again refused. In its May form, it was revised to sound more acceptable, though meaning the same. More, reading it, said to his daughter who was visiting him at the prison, "I tell you, Meg, they that committed me here for refusing this oath, not agreeable to their statute, are not by

their own law able to justify my imprisonment. And surely, daughter, it is great pity that any Christian Prince should, by a flexible council, ready to follow his affections, and by a weak clergy, lacking grace constantly to stand to their learning, with flattery be so shamefully abused."

That Fisher and More had been imprisoned wrongfully and illegally was negatively admitted by Parliament itself when, in November of 1534, it passed a new Act attainting the two with having refused to take the oath Parliament then wrote, calling this oath "the very oath that the Parliament meant and intended should be taken, and upon the refusal to take which the penalties denounced by the former oath accrued." For those who have ever taken the actions of Parliament seriously as being always right and just, this particular *ex post facto* legislation has always proved a stumblingblock.

The Act against Fisher (and other of the clergy) read as follows:

Forasmuch as John, Bishop of Rochester; Christopher Plummer, late of Windsor; Nicolas Wilson, Miles Willyn, Edward Powell, and Richard Featherstone (otherwise called Richard Featherstone-Hawgh), contrary to the duties of allegiance, intending to sow sedition, murmur, and grudge within the realm, among the King's loving and obedient subjects, by refusing the oath of succession since the first of May, be it enacted that the above be attainted of misprision of treason and shall suffer the penalties. The sentence to take effect, as regards loss of goods, from first of March last.

Then is given a detailed list of goods that are subject to forfeiture, including "the see and bishopric of the Bishop of Rochester, and all other benefices and promotions spiritual, which the same Bishop of Rochester hath." The goods and benefices of the Bishop and of all the others named were to be seized on the second day of January, 1535.

CHAPTER XV

FISHER AND MORE IN PRISON

IN SEPTEMBER, 1534, Pope Clement VII died. He was succeeded in October by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who was sixty-seven years old. The new Pope took the name of Paul III. Pope Paul III, notwithstanding his advanced age, proved himself one of the firmest and strongest of all the popes of this period. His pontificate lasted fifteen years. Interest in Pope Paul's election was not as great in England as recent papal elections had been, because previously Cardinal Wolsey had been a candidate, and now Wolsey was dead. But King Henry, even under the ban of excommunication, had an interest in the policy of the new Pope, wondering if he could be persuaded to reverse the acts of the late Pope Clement VII and declare the marriage of Henry and Anne to be valid.

Pope Paul at first encouraged King Henry to enter into new negotiations with the Vatican. Much as the Pope condemned King Henry's union with Anne Boleyn, he had to consider the millions of Catholics, both in England and on the Continent, who might be alienated from the faith by the rebellion of the Eng-

lish King. Paul knew the general attitude of the English people, knew of the saying: *Indignatio principis mors est* ("The king's displeasure means death"). Although the most Christian and the best educated people of England, like Thomas More, could ignore the maxim, the average Christian was afraid to die, even for the faith of Christ. Thomas More, previous to his arrest and confinement in the Tower, had been approached by the Duke of Norfolk, who said: "Mister More, it is perilous striving with princes, and I wish you somewhat to incline to the King's pleasure; for *indignatio principis mors est*." To this More replied: "Is that all, my Lord? Is there, in good faith, no more difference between your Grace and me than that I shall die today and you tomorrow?" Pope Paul knew that there was only one Thomas More in England and only one John Fisher. Therefore he advised King Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V to cease, for the moment, their activities against England. Then the news reached Rome: Thomas More and John Fisher were in the Tower of London. To the eternal credit of Pope Paul III, upon receipt of this news he dropped all other considerations, and tried to conceive some plan to save the lives of these two beloved sons of the Church.

Meanwhile, Fisher languished in the Bell Tower of the Tower of London. The Bell Tower was one of thirteen towers that strengthened the inside of the prison's ramparts, taking the name "Bell" from the fact that it contained the alarm bell of the whole fortress.

Though Fisher was placed in one of the upper rooms (a place which was considered very good for a prisoner), the confinement was not proper for one of Fisher's ecclesiastical position or for one of his old age and infirmity.

What the Bishop suffered is hinted in his pathetic letter to Cromwell after eight months' imprisonment. Fisher wrote:

After my most humble commendations, whereas ye be content that I should write unto the King's Highness, in good faith I dread me that I cannot be so circumspect in my writing but that some word shall escape me wherewith his Grace shall be moved to some further displeasure against me, whereof I would be very sorry. For as I will answer before God, I would not in any manner of point offend his Grace, my duty saved to God whom I must in everything prefer. And for this consideration I am full loath and full of fear to write to his Highness in this matter. Nevertheless, and if then I conceive that it is your mind that I should do so, I shall endeavor to do the best I can.

But first I must beseech you, good Master Secretary, to call to your remembrance that at my last being before you and the other Commissioners for the taking of the oath concerning the King's most noble succession, I was content to be sworn to that parcel concerning the succession. And there I repeated the reason which I said moved me: I doubted not but the Prince of any realm, with the assent of his nobles and commons, might appoint for his succession-royal such an order as was seen to his wisdom most according; and for this reason I said that I was content to be sworn to that part of the oath that concerns the succession. This is very truth, as God help my soul at my most need. Albeit, I refused to

swear to some other parcels because my conscience would not allow me so to do.

Furthermore, I beseech you to be a good master to me in my necessity; for I have neither shirt nor suit, nor yet other clothes that are necessary for me to wear but are ragged and rent shamefully. Notwithstanding, I might easily suffer that if they would keep my body warm. But my diet also God knows how slender it is at many times. And now in my age my stomach can take but few kinds of meat, which if I lack I decay forthwith and fall into coughs and diseases of my body and cannot keep myself in health. And as our Lord knows, I have nothing left to provide any better except as my brother of his own purse lays out for me to his great hindrance. Wherefore, good Master Secretary, eftsoons, I beseech you to have some pity upon me, and let me have such things as are necessary for me in my age and especially for my health.

And also that it may please you by your high wisdom to move the King's Highness to take me into his gracious favor again and to restore me to my liberty out of this cold and painful imprisonment, I beseech you; whereby you shall find me to be your poor beadsman forever unto Almighty God, who ever have you in His protection and custody.

Two other things I must also beg of you: the one, that it may please you to allow some priest within the Tower, by the assignment of Master Lieutenant, to hear my confession against this holy time; the other, that I may borrow some books to stir my devotion more effectually these holy days for the comfort of my soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your charity. And thus our Lord send you a Merry Christmas and a comfortable to your heart's desire.

At the Tower, the twenty-second day of December,

Your poor Beadsman,

Jo. Roffs.

Apart from the trials and torments of the prison life, the letter shows one of the elements that go to make a saint: the ability to wish the man who sent him to prison a Merry Christmas. And while Fisher and More both had to suffer the cold and lack of decent food, they both had to pay dearly in money for what little they received.

Cromwell seems to have paid not a particle of attention to Bishop Fisher's pleas. The Bishop continued to depend on his brother Robert for special food and medicine until the brother died in the spring of 1535. From then until the Bishop was executed, chance friends took pity on him and at various intervals provided his needs. But often there were whole weeks when he received no medicine at all and had to subsist on the prison diet which was killing him without need of the axe.

All the while Fisher was in prison, he was never allowed to attend mass, let alone celebrate mass himself. Sundays and holydays were externally the same as ordinary days of the week; but, of course, Fisher kept the days in his own mind, and he had his Breviary with him so that he could read the divine office daily. The reading of the Breviary had to be done at high noon, on sunny days, because the small windows admitted but scant light. On the many rainy and foggy days the good Bishop read by candlelight.

Sir Thomas More, it appears, was occasionally allowed to attend mass; but this privilege was never ex-

tended to Bishop Fisher. Both More and Fisher wrote extensively while in prison. More penned his famous *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*. Fisher wrote three books, two in English and one in Latin; the Latin book being on the necessity of prayer, and the English books being entitled, respectively, *A Spiritual Consolation* and *The Ways of Perfect Religion*. These latter works were addressed to his sister Elizabeth, a Dominican nun at Dartford in Kent. In *The Ways of Perfect Religion*, he contrasts a religious man or woman pursuing holiness with a hunter pursuing game. He says the nun goes to bed early in the evening, rises at midnight, and, after midnight prayers, returns to bed for further rest until dawn; whereas the hunter rises early in the morning that he may catch unwary animals as they return to their lairs, and sleeps during the day, but rises again at sundown to catch the prey going forth for the night, and again takes a snatch of sleep, only to rise again shortly for the renewal of the hunt. The nun sings all morning, but the hunter halloos at any hour. The nun sits for a long time in the choir; but the hunter runs over the fallow, leaps the hedges and creeps through bushes. Then comes the point of the whole story. "Would to God," wrote Fisher, "that religious would seek Christ with as little concern for worldly honors, riches, and pleasures, as the hunter seeks his game; that their comfort were to converse of Christ as his is to speak of the hare."

Filled with the love of God, Fisher, even in the

midst of his own troubles, could write with the purest of thoughts and the kindest of feelings; while the King who sent Fisher to prison died a thousand deaths in the battles with his own conscience and with the powers of Christendom. The Bishop pondered the glories of God; the King wondered about the powers of a general council. Henry published an appeal to such a council, as against the decrees of the popes, even though it had already been declared illegal and schismatical to consider a general council as superior to the pope. Henry and his Privy Council decreed "to send for all the bishops of this realm, and specially for such as be nearest to the Court, and to examine them apart, whether they by the law of God can prove or justify, that he, that is now called the Pope of Rome, is above the general councils, or the general councils above him; or whether he hath given unto him, by the law of God, any more authority within the realm than any other foreign bishop." Then, the same day that Henry and the Privy Council made this decree, they also decreed, as if they well knew the bishops of England (with the exception of John Fisher) would agree to whatever the King desired, "to devise with all the bishops of their realm, to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the King's people that the said bishop of Rome, called the pope, is not in authority above the general council, but the general council is above him and all bishops; and that he hath not, by God's law, any more jurisdiction within this realm than any other foreign bishop, being of any other realm,

hath. And that such authority as he before this hath usurped within this realm is both against God's, and also against the general council's, which usurpation of authority only hath grown to him by the sufferance of princes of the realm, and by none authority from God." How now, Defender of the Faith? In condemnation of himself, Henry had written of Luther, "And how far from charity this man is, is evident from this, not only that in his madness he destroys himself, but still more that he endeavors to draw all others with him to perdition, since he strives to turn all from their obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff."

During the latter part of the year 1534, while Fisher was having his first taste of prison fare, an event occurred in his own Diocese of Rochester that must have been most painful to him. Practically all the clergy in the diocese signed the bull which repudiated the authority of the pope in England. That they were forced to do so at the peril of their lives did not lessen the chagrin which Fisher felt when he heard the news. He had thought many priests among his clergy pious and firm and Christian, ready and willing to testify with their lives to the faith of Christ and to their loyalty to Christ's vicar.

In all justice we must point out that many monks and laymen in various parts of England kept the faith no matter what the risk. The monks of Charterhouse (the Carthusians) were later all put to death for remaining steadfast. Several letters written at that time profess the

true faith very firmly. One such letter, written to a friar who signed the King's bull, says:

I hear that you are of the new fashion, that is to say, a heretic. Never any of your kindred were so named, and it grieves me to hear that you are the first. . . . You send me word you will come over to me this summer, but come not unless you change your conditions. . . . You shall have God's curse and mine, and never a penny. I had rather give my goods to a poor creature that goes from door to door, being a good Christian man, than to you, to maintain you in lewdness and heresy. By your mother, Elizabeth George.

Friar John George, at Cambridge, must have felt properly rebuked by that letter from his own mother. But such letters and such clinging to the faith were exceptional. Most people remembered the saying: *Indignatio principis mors est*. Although the professors at St. John's College personally gave Bishop John Fisher a letter of encouragement at the end of the year 1534, the events which took place at the beginning of the next year were enough to discourage the stoutest heart.

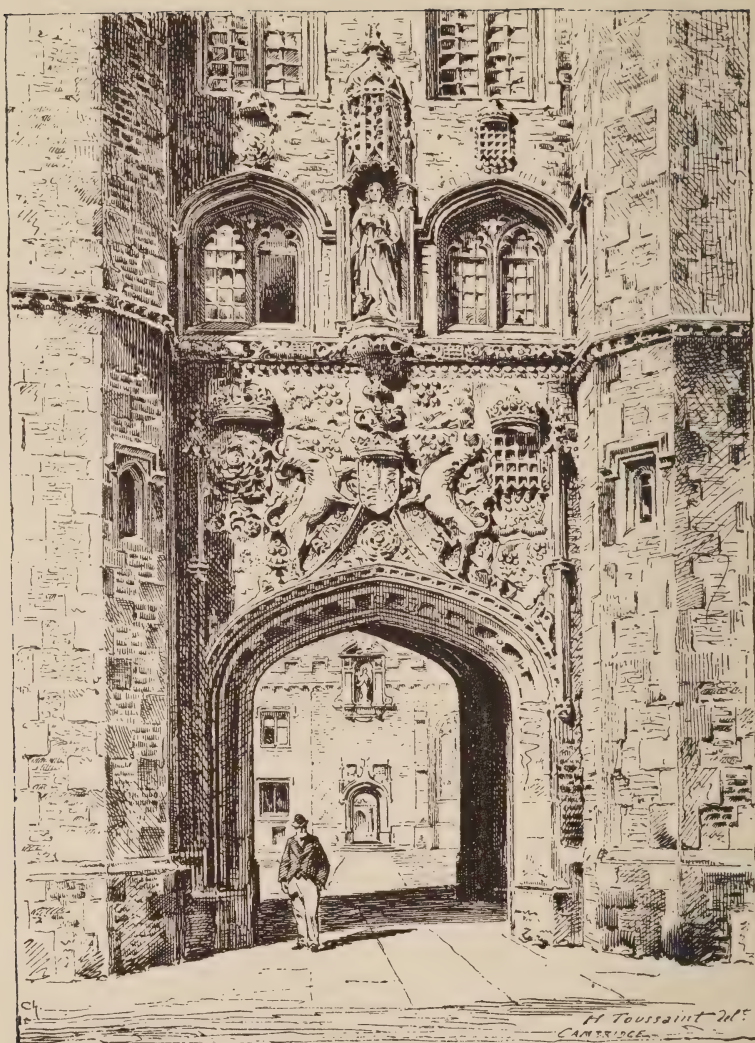
Ambassador Chapuys wrote as follows to Emperor Charles V on January 28, 1535:

The King has added to his titles that of Sovereign Head of the Church of England on earth, and it is proposed to burn all the bulls and provisions hitherto granted by the Holy See. With this view, on Sunday last, an Augustinian friar, who has been appointed by the King general of all the mendicant orders, in reward for having married the King and the Lady, preached a very solemn sermon maintaining that the bishops and all others who did not burn all their bulls obtained from

the Holy See, and get new ones from the King, deserved very severe punishment, and that without that they could not discharge any episcopal duty; that the sacred chrism of the bishops would be inefficacious, as made by men without authority, seeing that they obeyed the bishop or idol of Rome, who was a limb of the devil; and that tomorrow or after it would be a question whether to rebaptize those baptized during that time. This language is so abominable that it is clear it must have been prompted by the King or by Cromwell, who makes the friar his right-hand man in all things unlawful.

Cromwell does not cease to harass the bishops, even the "good" ones like Winchester and some others whom he called lately before the council, to ask them if the King could not make or unmake bishops at pleasure, who were obliged to say, "Yes," else they should have been deprived of their dignities, as the said Cromwell told a person who reported it to me, and said the council had been summoned only to entrap the bishops.

The bishops who sided with the King tried, of course, to justify their actions. Arguments were brought forward to prove the King was right. One heretical priest, named Thomas Bedyll, when sent by the Privy Council to try to win over Bishop Fisher to the King's side, argued with the Bishop thus: "The King is the head of the people. But the people are the Church. Therefore the King is the head of the Church." Cold and weak and saddened as he was in the Tower of London, John Fisher laughed at such an argument. If Bedyll's argument were to hold, other more interesting arguments could be proposed, such as, "The King of England is a



Gate of entrance, St. John's College.

human being. But every man is a human being. Therefore every man is the King of England." By the spring of 1535, thinking in England was so confused that a certain layman (Morris), an agent for Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, when questioned by Cromwell as to his views, answered solemnly: "I believe that an Act of Parliament discharges the conscience; for the Holy Ghost is as much present at an Act of Parliament as ever He was at any general council."

John Fisher's books, those he had written against Luther and other heretics, as well as the collections of his sermons, were so filled with proofs of the pope's supremacy that Henry, early in 1535, ordered them all to be suppressed. Fisher, when informed of the King's action, smiled with sad resignation. He knew that no matter how many books were suppressed, the King could never become Supreme Head of the Church in England or anywhere else. He might well have repeated the words of Sir Thomas More: "After seven years' study, I never could find that a layman as such could be Head of the Church."

CHAPTER XVI

FISHER CREATED A CARDINAL

BISHOPS, ONE after another, were sent to Fisher in the hope that they might persuade him to change his attitude concerning the King's supremacy. Beginning on February 1, 1535, day after day the bishops came and tried to make him commit the crime they had committed. After a month of these futile attempts, Fisher spoke to a delegation of the bishops as follows:

My lords, it is no small grief to me that occasion is given to deal in such matters as these be. But it grieves me much more to see and hear such men as you be persuade with me therein, seeing it concerns you in your several charge as deeply as it does me in mine; and, therefore, I think, it had been rather our parts to stick together in repressing these violent and unlawful intrusions and injuries daily offered to our common mother, the Church of Christ, than by any manner of persuasion to help or set forward the same. And we ought rather to seek by all means the temporal destruction of these ravening wolves that daily go about worrying and devouring everlastingly the flock that Christ committed to our charge, and the flock that Himself died for, than to suffer them thus to range abroad. But alas! Seeing we do it not, ye see in what peril the Christian state now stands. We

are besieged on all sides and can hardly escape the danger of our enemy. And seeing the judgment is begun at the House of God, what hope is there left, if we fail, that the rest shall stand? The fort is betrayed even of them that should have defended it. And, therefore, seeing the matter is thus begun, and so faintly resisted on our parts, I fear we be not the men that shall see the end of this misery. Wherefore, seeing I am an old man, and look not long to live, I mind not, by the help of God, to trouble my conscience in pleasing the King in this way, whatsoever become of me, but rather here to spend out the remnant of my old days in praying to God for him.

When the bishops had departed, an attendant who took care of Bishop Fisher, having heard the pleading of the other bishops, said to him: "Alas, my lord, why should you stick with the King more than the rest of the bishops have done, who be right well learned and good men? Doubt you not he requires no more of you but only to say he is Head of the Church, and, as I think, that is no great matter, for your lordship may still think as you list." Fisher knew the attendant for a simple but well-meaning fellow and so did not resent the speech, merely replying: "Tush, tush! You're but a simple fellow and know little what this matter means, but hereafter you may know more. I tell you that it is not for the supremacy only that I am thus tossed and troubled, but also for an oath which, if I would have sworn, I doubt whether I should ever have been questioned for the supremacy. But, God being my good Lord, I will never agree to any of them both, and this

you may say another day you heard me speak, when I am dead and gone out of this world."

The reason for the deputations of bishops to win over Fisher was not only for the King's sake, but also for the Bishop's. On February 1, 1535, an Act of Parliament went into effect, making it high treason for anybody to deny any of the King's titles. When Fisher first heard of the Act from his brother Robert, he blessed himself and said, startled, "Is it so?" He realized that his hour was come. High treason, of course, meant death promptly after conviction.

But Fisher was not the first to die under the new Act. The first were John Houghton, Prior of Charterhouse, London; Augustine Webster, Prior of Charterhouse, Axholme in Lincolnshire; Robert Lawrence, Prior of Charterhouse, Bevall, Notts; Richard Reynolds, Brother of the House of Syon, near London; and John Hall, Vicar of Isleworth, near London. They were executed May 4, 1535.¹ We cannot well describe the feelings of John Fisher and Thomas More as they heard the roll of drums outside the Tower as each blow of the executioner's axe fell and another head rolled into the dust. Both Fisher and More knew that they were next on the list.

The day of the monks' execution, Thomas More watched them being led off. He gazed down on them from his prison window, his daughter Margaret standing by his side, and he remarked: "Lo, do you not see,

¹ They are all counted among the blessed by the Catholic Church.

Meg, that these blessed fathers are now as cheerfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage?" And when the monks had been beheaded, Bishop Fisher called for whatever writings could be found in the martyrs' cells and, reading the scrolls that were brought to him, he sighed and, turning to his jailer, said: "They are gone. God have mercy on their souls."

On May 5, the day following the martyrdom of the monks, Ambassador Chapuys, after telling the Emperor of the execution, says in his letter:

It is commonly reported that the King has summoned the Bishop of Rochester, Master More, a doctor who was lately his confessor (Wilson), a chaplain of the Queen (Thomas Abell), and a schoolmaster (Richard Featherstone) of the Princess (Mary), to swear to the statutes made here against the Pope, the Queen and Princess, otherwise they would be treated no better than the said monks, six weeks being given to them to consider the matter. They have replied that they were ready to suffer what martyrdom pleased the King, and that they would not change their opinion in six weeks or even in six hundred years, if they lived that long; and many fear they will be despatched like the aforesaid.

And it is to be feared that if the King is getting so inured to cruelty he will use it towards the Queen and the Princess, at least in secret; to which the concubine (Anne) will urge him with all her power, who has lately several times blamed the said King, saying it was a shame to him and all the realm that they were not punished as traitresses according to the statutes. The said concubine is more haughty than ever and ventures to tell the King, as I hear, that he is as much bound to her as man can be to woman, for she extricated him from

a state of sin; and, moreover, that he came out of it the richest prince that ever was in England, and that without her he would not have reformed the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom to his own great profit and that of all the people.

On May 7, Cromwell and other members of the Privy Council visited Fisher in the Tower, asking him how he now felt toward the King's supremacy. Whether or not Cromwell and the others actually believed that the deaths of the Carthusians would have changed Fisher's mind, is hard to tell, but they at least pretended they thought the good Bishop would now be of a different opinion than formerly. Fisher replied that he never would subscribe to the idea of the King's supremacy in the Church, for such an idea was utterly outside the bounds of truth. A few days later, Cromwell and the Council again visited the Bishop and questioned him, to no avail. Fisher, hearing, after this second visit, that the Council had also visited More, had one of the lesser guards of the prison ask More what answer he had given; and the answer came back from Thomas More that he would not bother to argue over the King's title, but was going to busy himself with his beads and think of his entrance into the next world. The reason for Fisher's inquiry seems to be that the Council had tried to trick him into accepting the supremacy by saying that More had accepted, just as they had tried to trick More by saying Fisher had accepted it. Neither More nor Fisher would have been the least bit influenced by the other's fall (had such an unthinkable thing occurred),

but Fisher was interested to see how far the Privy Council was debasing itself to corrupt him. He was in a position to feel more sorry for his jailers than they for him.

In the meantime, Pope Paul III did not forget the two great champions of the papacy and the faith in England. Although he had been unable to effect their release from the Tower of London, he repeatedly tried to do so. Now, on the twentieth of May, with what he hoped would be a decisive plea, Pope Paul III created "the Bishop of Rochester, kept in prison by the King of England," Cardinal-priest of St. Vitalis. Immediately there arose a storm of protest from the English subjects loyal to the King. Henry's agent at Rome, Sir Gregory Casale, wrote to him that, after he had protested vigorously against the naming of Fisher as a cardinal, the Pope called him and

tried to show by many arguments that his intention had been good; for, since cardinals had to be created, he was led to choose one from England for two reasons: first, because he had seen letters of the Most Christian King (Francis) in which he expressed his wish that matters could be arranged with the King of England, and that satisfaction could be given to him in the affair of his marriage. Hence he thought that (in creating Fisher a cardinal) he would obtain a proper agent to treat of these affairs and would do a thing pleasing to his Majesty. Secondly, that he was thinking much of a council; and since a certain constitution exacts that cardinals of all nations should be present in a council, it had seemed to him necessary to make some Englishman a cardinal. He

had not Rochester in his mind more than any other; but when it was said that the writings of Rochester were held in great esteem, especially in Germany and Italy, and when Campeggio and others spoke so highly of him, it appeared to him (Pope Paul) that he should do a nice thing and give pleasure to the King in making him a cardinal.

Whether that was merely the way Casale put the situation in order to appease the wrath of King Henry, or whether the Pope used such diplomatic language in order to save Fisher, will never be definitely known. But the letter which the Bishop of Maçon (French ambassador at Rome) sent to King Francis I, is quite different in tone from Casale's.

The French Bishop wrote that the Pope had asked him to beg Francis to do all in his power with Henry to help the Bishop of Rochester. He says further:

I replied that I would write to that effect but feared it would be of little use, for the Imperialists were saying that the creation of Fisher had been at the request of your Grace, hoping by such speeches to make Henry suspicious of your Grace. The Pope was greatly distressed and declared himself ready to pass a formal attestation that he had not been requested by any prince to make Fisher a cardinal. If His Holiness had done so, it was merely on account of the fame of the Bishop of Rochester for virtue and learning, and rather with the intention of pleasing the King of England than from any ill feeling toward him.

That letter was dated May 29, 1535. On the thirty-first the imperialist Doctor Ortiz wrote of Fisher's elevation to the Sacred College of Cardinals, but expressed

the prophetic thought that the only red hat John Fisher would ever wear would be the bloody crown of martyrdom.

The Papal Nuncio at Paris (the Bishop of Faenza) asked the French King to intercede with Henry in the Bishop's behalf. Although Francis praised Fisher as one of the world's noblest Christians, he expressed his doubt that he could change Henry's mind. Francis branded Henry as proud and obstinate. "Sometimes," said the King of France, speaking of Henry, the King of England, "he treats me almost like a subject. In effect he is the strangest man in the world, and I fear I can do no good with him; but I must put up with him, as it is no time to lose friends."

At the end of May the news of Fisher's elevation reached England. The clergy, who still paid attention to papal honors even though they paid no attention to the pope, were impressed and awed. Henry was infuriated. Anne Boleyn burst into rage at what she considered the effrontery of the Bishop of Rome. When Cromwell heard the news, he rushed to the Tower to see what Fisher's reaction would be. But, instead of telling the facts, Cromwell asked: "My Lord of Rochester, if the Pope should now send you a cardinal's hat, what would you do? Would you take it?" And Fisher answered: "Sir, I know myself far unworthy of any such dignity, that I think nothing less than such matters; but if he so send it to me, assure yourself I'll work with it by all the means I can to benefit the Church of Christ; and in that

respect I'll receive it upon my knees." Whereupon, without telling Fisher that the red hat was on its way from Rome, Cromwell reported Fisher's words to King Henry, who bitterly shouted: "Yea, is he so lusty? Well, let the Pope send him a hat when he will; but I'll so provide that whensoever it comes, he'll wear it on his shoulders, for he'll have no head to set it on."

But while Henry raged at the well-chosen words of John Fisher concerning his reception of the duties the red hat would bring him, Fisher felt no pride in the personal honor bestowed upon him. He was not a vain man; and he had known another cardinal in England, the late Thomas Wolsey. So when George Golde, one of the prison attendants, brought the news, Fisher wrote: "George brought me word since the last sitting of the Council here, that he had heard say of Mistress Roper, that this respondent was made a cardinal. And then this respondent said, in the presence of the same George and Wilson, that if the cardinal's hat were laid at his feet, he would not stoop to pick it up, he did set so little by it."

What King Henry thought of Fisher's elevation is shown in the letter which Ambassador Chapuys sent (June 16, 1535) to Emperor Charles. He says:

As soon as the King heard that the Bishop of Rochester had been created a cardinal, he declared in anger several times that he would give him another hat, and despatch the head afterward to Rome for the cardinal's hat. He sent immediately to the Tower those of his Council to summon again the said Bishop and Master More to swear to the King

as Head of the Church, otherwise before St. John's Day they should be executed as traitors. But it has been impossible to gain them, either by promises or threats, and it is believed they will soon be executed. But, as they are persons of unequalled reputation in this kingdom, the King, to appease the murmurs of the world, has already on Sunday last caused preachers to preach against them in most of the churches here, and this will be continued next Sunday. And although there is no lawful occasion to put them to death, the King is seeking if anything can be found against them, especially if the said Bishop has made suit for the hat. To find out which, several persons have been arrested, both of his kinsmen and of those who live in the prison.

It is impossible to describe the distress of the Queen and the Princess on account of these two persons; and they are not without fear that after them matters may be carried further than I have hitherto written. Since the said news of the Bishop's creation as cardinal, the King, in hatred of the Holy See, has despatched mandates and letters patent to the bishops, curates, and others commissioned to preach, that they continually preach certain articles against the Church, and to schoolmasters to instruct their scholars to revile Apostolic Authority; and this under pain of rebellion; also that the Pope's name should be erased from all mass-books, Breviaries, and Hours, either in the calendar or elsewhere.

England was no longer merry; England was sorry England.

CHAPTER XVII

FISHER AND MORE CONVICTED OF TREASON

CARDINAL FISHER was brought to trial in the English court on the seventeenth of June, 1535. Between the time of the appointing of the special commission of oyer and terminer for Middlesex (June 1) until the trial, there had been the gathering of "evidence against the Cardinal." The commission was directed to Sir Thomas Audley, Chancellor; Charles, Duke of Suffolk; the Marquis of Exeter; the Earl of Rutland; the Earl of Cumberland; the Earl of Wiltshire; Secretary of State Thomas Cromwell; Sir John Fitz-James, Chief Justice; Sir John Baldwin, Chief Justice of Common Pleas; Sir William Paulet; Sir Richard Lyster, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and to Justices J. Porte, J. Spelman, W. Luke, T. Inglefield, W. Shelley and A. Fitz-Herbert.

On the day of the trial, Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower of London, came to Fisher's cell and asked if he were ready for the journey to Westminster Hall, where the King's Bench was located. Fisher answered that he was as ready as he would ever be, aged and infirm as he was. At the gateway from the Tower, he was placed on a horse to carry him to the

water, as it was obvious the old man would not be able to travel far by foot. He was dressed in a black cloth gown, looking more like a college professor than a cardinal, bishop, or priest. And yet there was something about his eyes and his mouth that distinguished him even from a professor, even a *professor veritatis* as he had once called himself; he was as a man who has already professed and awaits now his reward. People lined his way to the river, and others lined the river banks to watch his barge sail to Westminster; as he passed, they blessed themselves with the sign of the cross. They had seen a saint.

At Westminster Hall, the Cardinal was preceded into the court by the constable and other officials carrying various weapons, including the axe of the Tower. It was a significant gesture. Cardinal Fisher had no more chance of escaping conviction in that court than he had been able to escape the dictates of his own conscience. He was doomed, as it were, to heaven.

The Cardinal was not given the distinction of being addressed as a cardinal but, when presented before the commissioners, was called "John Fisher, late of the city of Rochester, in the county of Kent, clerk; also called Lord John Fisher, late of Rochester, bishop." He was accused of being malicious, stubborn, inspired by the devil, and constantly putting himself in the way of "our most serene lord, Henry VIII, by the grace of God, King of England, Defender of the Faith and Lord of Ireland, and in earth Supreme Head of the Church of

England." It was charged that the said prisoner, Fisher, when asked on the seventh of May if he would agree to all the titles of the King, had answered, in the Tower of London, "before diverse true subjects of the Lord King": "The King our sovereign lord is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England." Since these words were contrary to an Act of Parliament which made it high treason for any citizen within the realm to deny any of the titles of the King, John Fisher was charged with high treason.

The trial was on. A jury of twelve men was chosen from the free inhabitants of the territory of the Tower of London. Although the charge against Fisher cited that the words (quoted) had been spoken before several "diverse true subjects," yet the only witness for the Crown who testified in court was Solicitor-General Rich. That he should be allowed to be the only witness for the prosecution shows the irregularity of the whole proceedings.

Rich took the witness stand and testified that he had clearly heard the prisoner say, "that he believed in his conscience, and by his learning assuredly knew, that the King neither was, nor by right could be, supreme head in earth of the Church of England." In astonishment, Fisher said:

Mr. Rich, I cannot but marvel to hear you come in and bear witness against me of these words, knowing in what secret manner you came to me. But suppose I so said to you, yet in that saying I committed no treason, for upon what

occasion and for what cause it might be said you yourself know right well and, therefore, being now urged by this occasion to dwell somewhat on this matter, I shall desire my lords and others present to be a little patient in hearing what I shall say for myself. This man (pointing to Rich) came to me from the King on a secret message, with commendations from his Grace, declaring at large what a good opinion his Majesty had of me and how sorry he was for my trouble, with many more words than are here necessary to be recited because they tended so much to my praise that I could in no way deserve them. At last he broke with me of the matter of the King's supremacy lately granted him by Act of Parliament, "to the which," he said, "although all the bishops in the realm have consented except yourself alone, and also the whole Court of the Parliament, both spiritual and temporal, except a very few, yet his Grace, for the better satisfaction of his own conscience, has sent me to you in this secret manner to learn your full opinion in the matter, for the great confidence he has in you more than any other." He added further that if I would frankly and freely therein advise his Majesty of my knowledge that, upon being certain of my dislike, he would very likely retract much of his former activity and make satisfaction for the same, in case I should so advise him.

When I heard all his message and considered a little upon his words, I put him in mind of the new Act of Parliament which (standing in force as it did against all who should directly say or do anything against it) might thereby endanger me very much, in case I should utter to him anything that might be offensive to the law. To that he told me that the King willed him to assure me on his honor, and on the word of a King, that whatsoever I should say to him by this, his secret messenger, I should abide no danger or peril for it;

nor would any advantage be taken against me for the same, no, although my words were ever so directly against the statute, seeing it was but a declaration of my mind secretly to him, as to his own person. And for the messenger himself, he gave me his faithful promise that he would never utter my words in this matter to any man living, but to the King alone. Now, therefore, my Lords, seeing it pleased the King's Majesty to send me word thus secretly, under the pretence of plain and true meaning, to know my poor advice and opinion in these his weighty and great doings (which I most gladly was and ever will be willing to send him), methink it is very hard injustice to hear the messenger's accusation, and to allow the same as a sufficient testimony against me in case of treason.

Such was the opening gun of Cardinal Fisher's defense. But Rich, while refusing to say whether or not what the Cardinal had just said was true, declared that whatever he had said to Fisher had been according to the commission of the King and added, "if I had said to you in such sort as you have declared, I would gladly know what discharge is this to you in law against his Majesty for so directly speaking against the statute."

The judges agreed with the solicitor-general that, no matter what the King had promised Fisher, Fisher was not free to speak against the statutes of the law. Such speaking, even at the King's request, was high treason. Fisher was astounded at this decision of the judges, but he firmly continued his defense, addressing himself to the judges rather than to the jury, since the judges were taking such an active part in the proceedings.



A terracotta portrait bust, supposed to be that of Bishop John Fisher. The original is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

"Yet, I pray you, my Lords," he said, "consider that, by all equity, justice, worldly honesty, and courteous dealing, I cannot (as the case stands) be directly charged therewith as with treason, though I had spoken the words, indeed, the same being not spoken maliciously, but in the way of advice and counsel, when it was requested of me by the King himself. And that favor the very words of the statute do give me, being made only against such as shall maliciously gainsay the King's supremacy, and none other."

The judges ruled that the word "maliciously" was superfluous and, if any man spoke in any way against the King's supremacy, it would be understood by the law that such a man had spoken maliciously.

"My Lords," parried Fisher, "if the law be so understood, then it is a hard exposition, and, as I take it, contrary to the meaning of them that made the law. But then, let me demand this question: Whether a single testimony of one man may be admitted as sufficient to prove me guilty of treason for speaking these words or no, and whether my answer negatively may not be accepted against his affirmative to my avail and benefit or no?"

But again the judges ruled against Fisher, saying that since the case was a royal one, it depended for judgment by the jury as to whether or not the testimony offered was sufficient to convict. Then the matter was directly given to the jury for judgment; but before they could retire to the private jury room, Chancellor Audley im-

pressed on them the fact that treason is a most dangerous offense, implying that if any verdict were returned other than a verdict of "guilty," the jurymen themselves might be subject to the forces of the law. And one of the other commissioners, seeing how impressed the jurymen were with the Chancellor's address, rose and charged Fisher with obstinacy and singularity, alleging that he, being but one man, had presumptuously stood against the opinion of all the other bishops in England and the opinion of the well-learned Parliament.

But Fisher could not stand idly by while he was thus being attacked; so he replied that, although he might be called singular if indeed he were the only bishop in the world who held against the King's supremacy, the fact of the matter was that he had on his side all the bishops of the world except those few who dwelt in England, indeed he had on his side "all the Catholic bishops of the world from Christ's Ascension until now, joined with the whole consent of Christ's universal Church." "I must needs," he continued, "account my own side far the surer. And as for obstinacy, which is likewise objected against me, I have no way to clear myself thereof, but by my own solemn word and promise to the contrary, if ye please to believe it, or else, if that will not serve, I am here ready to confirm the same by my oath."

In one sense, Cardinal Fisher's defense was pathetic; for he knew, as well as everybody else in the courtroom, that it would be of no avail. But in another sense, his defense was a glorious thing; for it showed the old man,

now in his seventy-sixth year, with scant flesh on his body, suffering from consumption and afflicted with liver trouble and the palsy, with no powerful friend in England to defend him, nevertheless standing firmly for his own rights as well as the rights of God, of the Pope, of the Church, and of God's children who were suffering like Queen Catherine and Princess Mary. Fisher had God on his side; what cared he who was against him?

The verdict of the jury was "guilty." Chancellor Audley, calling for silence because of the murmur that arose in the courtroom, said to Fisher: "My Lord of Rochester, you have been here arraigned of high treason, and putting yourself to the trial of twelve men, you have pleaded not guilty, and they notwithstanding have found you guilty in their consciences; wherefore, if you have any more to say for yourself you are now to be heard, or else to receive judgment according to the order and course of the law."

"Truly, my Lord," said Fisher, "if that which I have before spoken be not sufficient, I have no more to say, but only to desire almighty God to forgive them that have thus condemned me; for I think they know not what they have done."

The Chancellor then solemnly pronounced sentence: "You shall be led to the place from whence you came, and from thence shall be drawn through the city to the place of execution at Tyborne, where your body shall be hanged by the neck, and half alive you shall be cut down and thrown to the ground, your bowels to be

taken out of your body and burned before you, being alive, your head to be smitten off, and your body to be divided into four quarters, and after your head and quarters to be set up where the King shall appoint, and God have mercy on your soul."

Without a whimper and without a protest, John Fisher took his sentence; but, when the Chancellor had finished, he asked for one last word to the assembly. This was granted. And Fisher said:

My Lords, I am here condemned before you of high treason, for denial of the King's supremacy over the Church of England, but by what order of justice I leave to God who is Searcher both of the King's Majesty's conscience and yours; nevertheless, being found guilty as it is termed, I am and must be contented with all that God shall send, to whose will I wholly refer and submit myself. And now to tell you more plainly my mind touching this matter of the King's supremacy: I think, indeed, and always have thought, and do now lastly affirm, that his Grace cannot justly claim any such supremacy over the Church of God as he now takes upon him, neither has been seen or heard of, that any temporal prince before his days has presumed to that dignity. Wherefore, if the King will now adventure himself in proceeding in this strange and unwonted case, no doubt but he shall deeply incur the displeasure of almighty God, to the great danger of his own soul and of many others, and to the utter ruin of this realm committed to his charge, whereof will ensue some sharp punishment at His hand. Wherefore, I pray God his Grace may remember himself in time, and hearken to good counsel for the preservation of himself and his realm, and the quietness of all Christendom.

He was led off, on horseback, to the Tower of London. At the entrance-gate of the Tower, he turned to his attendants and said: "My masters, I thank you all for the great labor and pains ye have taken with me this day; I am not able to give you anything in recompense, for I have nothing left, and therefore I pray accept in good part my hearty thanks."

The Cardinal was in good spirits. He had, in his lifetime, challenged all sinners in the Kingdom of England: peasants, merchants, professors, priests, doctors, lawyers, laborers, bishops, heretics, a cardinal-legate and, finally, the King himself. It was a remarkable record. Back in his cell in the Tower, he was able to stretch himself on his couch and, releasing a long, wearied sigh, lapse into calm, untroubled slumber. It had been a long day, but a day well done.

Two weeks later Sir Thomas More was subjected to the same sort of trial; but in More's trial, Solicitor-General Rich proved himself even more arrogant and brazen in his malicious testimony. More, of course, was also found guilty of high treason.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MARTYRDOM OF FISHER AND MORE

CARDINAL FISHER did not know on what day he was to die the horrible death sentenced for him; but this uncertainty did not interfere with his appetite or his spiritual exercises. Two days after his trial and conviction, his cook failed to appear with the dinner. Next morning, Fisher asked the cook what was the meaning of eliminating the previous meal. "Sir," said the cook, "it was commonly talked all over town that you should have died yesterday, and therefore I thought it but in vain to dress anything for you." "Well," said the Cardinal, laughing, "for all that report you do see me yet alive, and therefore, whatsoever news you will hear of me hereafter, let me no more lack my dinner, but make it ready as you are wont to do, and if you see me dead when you come in, then eat it yourself; but I promise you, if I be alive, I mind by God's grace to eat never a bit the less."

On Monday, June 21, 1535, King Henry VIII summoned Sir Edmund Walsingham, the lieutenant of the Tower, and told him that, since the distance from the Tower to Tyburn was more than two miles, he doubted

if Fisher would live through the journey. Therefore he ordered Fisher to be taken to Tower Hill and be there beheaded. The execution was to take place the next morning.

At five o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, June 22, 1535, Walsingham awoke Cardinal Fisher and, after speaking of the holy life that Fisher had led, remarked that such a holy man should not find it difficult to die. Then he told him that the King had ordered his death before noon on that very day.

"Well, if this be your errand," said the saint, "you bring me no great news, for I have for a long time looked for this message. And I most humbly thank the King's Majesty that it pleases him to rid me from all this worldly business, and I thank you also for your tidings. But, I pray you, Mister Lieutenant, when is my hour that I must go hence?"

"Your hour," said Walsingham, "must be nine of the clock."

"And what hour is it now?" asked Fisher.

"It is now about five," said the lieutenant.

"Well, then," said Fisher, "let me by your patience sleep an hour or two, for I have slept very little this night, and yet to tell you the truth, not for any fear of death, I thank God, but by reason of my great infirmity and weakness."

"The King's further pleasure is," said Walsingham, a bit chagrined at Fisher's lack of interest in his own death, "that you should use as little speech as may be, especially

of anything touching his Majesty, whereby the people should have any cause to think of him or his proceedings otherwise than well."

"As for that," answered Fisher, smiling sympathetically for King Henry, "you shall see me order myself, as, by God's grace, neither the King nor any man else shall have occasion to mislike of my words."

And when the lieutenant departed, the Cardinal went back to sleep. About two hours later, he was again awakened and told that it was time to dress. He ordered his attendant to take off the hair shirt from his back and to bring instead a clean white shirt and all the best apparel that he had. The attendant asked what was the purpose of dressing in such finery which he would have to put off again within two hours. "What of that?" said Fisher; "Do you not mark that this is our wedding-day, and that it behooves us, therefore, to use more cleanliness for the solemnity of the marriage?"

Shortly before nine, Walsingham came and, finding the Cardinal almost ready, told him he was come for him.

"I'll wait upon you straight," said Fisher, "as fast as this thin body of mine will give me leave." Then to his attendant, he said, "Reach me my furred tippet to put about my neck." "Oh, my Lord," said Walsingham, "what need you be so careful for your health for this little, being, as your Lordship knows, not much above an hour." "I think no otherwise," answered Fisher readily, "but yet in the meantime I'll keep myself as well as

I can, till the very time of my execution, for I tell you truth, though I have, I thank our Lord, a very good desire and willing mind to die at this present, and so trust of His infinite mercy and goodness He will continue it, yet will I not willingly hinder my health in the meantime one minute of an hour, but still prolong the same as long as I can by such reasonable ways and means as almighty God has provided for me."

Taking a New Testament in his left hand, Fisher passed out of his prison cell, blessing himself as he went. So weak he could hardly move, the attendants carried him in a chair from the foot of the prison stairs to the Tower gate. When they reached the outermost precinct of the Tower, they rested. Fisher, rising from his chair, opened his Testament as he gazed upward and said: "O Lord, this is the last time that ever I shall open this book; let some comfortable place now chance to me whereby I, Thy poor servant, may glorify Thee in this my last hour."

Then, looking down at the place where the Testament opened, he read in Latin from the Gospel of St. John (17: 3-5): "This is eternal life: that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent. I have glorified Thee on the earth; I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do. And now glorify Thou Me, O Father. . . ."

After reading the passage, he closed the book, saying: "Here is indeed learning enough for me to my life's end."

He was then led by the sheriff and his deputies to Tower Hill (otherwise called East Smithfield). He prayed continually. At the foot of the stairs leading to the scaffold, they offered to carry him up, but he said: "Nay, masters, seeing I have come this far, let me alone and you shall see me shift for myself well enough."

He mounted with such a lively step as he had not shown previously in the day. As he reached the top, the sun shone brightly in his face and he recited: *Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini et facies vestrae non confundentur* ("Come to Him and be enlightened: and your faces shall not be confounded").

It was about ten o'clock in the morning, and the executioner knelt at Fisher's feet, asking for forgiveness for the deed he was about to do.

"I forgive you," said Fisher, "with all my heart, and I trust you shall see me overcome this storm lustily."

His gown and tippet were taken from him, and he stood in his doublet and hose, showing his frail body. Seeing the hundreds that had gathered to witness the execution and noting that many of them were openly weeping, Fisher said to them:

Christian people, I am come hither to die for the faith of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and I thank God hitherto my stomach has served me very well thereunto, so that yet I have not feared death; wherefore I desire you all to help and assist me with your prayers, that at the very point and instant of death's stroke, I may in that very moment stand steadfast without fainting in any one point of the Catholic

faith, free from any fear. And I beseech almighty God of His infinite goodness to save the King and this realm, and that it may please Him to hold His holy hand over it and send the King good counsel.

His words were uttered in a loud and distinct voice, surprising the assembled multitude who marveled that such a frail old man could make himself heard at all. Then he knelt, reciting *Te Deum laudamus* and the psalm *In Te Domine speravi*, in their completeness. While his eyes were being covered with a handkerchief, he recited prayers of his own making, which the crowd could not distinctly hear. Then he laid his head over a little block. The executioner, ready with a heavy, sharp axe, cut through the saint's neck with one swift blow, severing the head from the body. Blood flowed so profusely from neck and body that the crowd marveled.

That was all. It was very simple. Cardinal John Fisher was now a martyr to the Catholic faith. His soul was in heaven. He had fought the good fight and was now standing before the eternal Father for the crown of joy everlasting. While England wept bitterly over the crime of King Henry, St. John Fisher was free from all earthly worries, rejoicing in the presence of the Blessed Trinity, at peace in the company of the Blessed Virgin and the angels and the saints.

King Henry's wrath was vented against the martyr's body, which was stripped of all clothes and left naked on the scaffold for the rest of the day. What Henry purposed by this particular act is hard to surmise, espe-

cially since the Tower attendants guarded the body so carefully that few people came to see it. In the evening, about eight o'clock, by the King's orders it was picked up on halberts and flung into a crude grave in the churchyard at All Hallows, Barking, and covered with dirt. There was no winding-sheet or box or anything of the sort for Fisher's body; it was merely dumped into the earth and covered haphazardly with the earth that had been first dug out to make the grave.

The martyr's head was brought on a platter to King Henry and he, in turn, showed it to Anne Boleyn who, looking at it contemptuously for a moment, said: "Is this the head that so often exclaimed against me? I trust it shall never do me more harm." And, saying that, she struck the dead man's mouth with the back of her hand, but struck so hard that one of the teeth in the mouth made a wound in her hand, the scar of which lasted the rest of her life. Frightened, she ordered the head out of her presence; and the King directed that it should be parboiled, set on a pole, and placed high upon London Bridge, among the heads of the other martyrs (the Carthusians), as a threat to all rebellious Englishmen.

Fisher's head kept its form and features so well and so lifelike that, after a few days, people began to gather in front of it, praying for the intercession of the saint whose head it was. Hundreds of people from London and its suburbs made daily pilgrimages to the place. Instead of being a threat, the sight of the head was an encouragement to the firm believers in the faith of Christ.

Hearing of this unexpected development, after fourteen days King Henry ordered the head taken down during the night and thrown into the Thames River. In its place was put the head of the martyred St. Thomas More, executed on July 6.

After the execution of More, while yet King Henry was laughing gaily at plays which showed him personally cutting off the heads of rebels, the remains of Fisher and More were dug up again from their graves by the north door of the church at Barking and buried within the Tower of London. The exact place of the second burial is not known; but probably it was in the small church within the Tower, called St. Peter's in Chains.

All Europe, apart from England, had masses for the souls of the two martyrs John Fisher and Thomas More. The cathedral and churches in Paris celebrated masses daily for a week for the repose of their souls. Rome went into solemn mourning for a month. Louvain remembered the two humanists; Spain mourned the saints who had acted for a Queen of Spanish blood.

What His Holiness Pope Paul III thought of the double murder can be seen in the fact that he called a special consistory of cardinals to hear Cardinal Tournon's letter describing the martyrdom of Fisher and More; and the fact that the Pope wrote to Ferdinand of Hungary, King of the Romans, the following indignant letter:

We doubt not that your Majesty has heard of the cruel slaughter of John, Bishop of Rochester and Cardinal, and has been greatly shocked both on account of the dignity

and sanctity of the man and of the cause of his death. . . . For Henry, King of England, had impiously and unjustly put away our dear daughter and your aunt, Catherine, Queen of England, with whom he had contracted marriage with the dispensation of the Apostolic See, and by whom he had children, and during her lifetime had by his own authority taken Anne to be his adulterous wife, and to veil his crime he denied the validity of his marriage with Catherine, and the power of the Apostolic See. He withdrew also his kingdom from obedience to the Apostolic See, to which it was tributary, and in many ways cast himself into the company of heretics, besides many other unworthy and impious deeds. And since these things displeased the good, if any found fault with his marriage with an adulteress, he caused them to be arrested, incarcerated, and put to death. For three whole years Christendom and this Apostolic See have patiently borne with his impiety, hoping for his amendment; but how fruitlessly his last deeds have shown. For when in our late creation of cardinals, to honor the virtue and sanctity of the Bishop of Rochester, we placed him among their number, hoping that that dignity, which is everywhere wont to be accounted venerable, would be effective in procuring his freedom, in this also Henry chose to be like himself in his former many cruelties, and like his forefather Henry II, by whose hatred and persecution the Blessed Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, became a martyr. But this Henry has far exceeded the impiety of the former one, who slew one only; this man, many. He slew the defender of the rights of one particular Church; this man, the defender of the rights of the Church universal. He, an archbishop; this man, a cardinal of the Roman Church. The former Henry, when obliged to clear himself before Alexander III, cast the blame on others, and humbly received the penance laid on him by the Roman

Pontiff. Whereas this Henry most obstinately defends his deed, shows no repentance, but obstinacy and enmity. And he has not the excuse that he has been injured by the Roman Church, for by her he was adorned with the title of Defender of the Faith, a title which he has ungratefully wrested to the injury of the faith.

The letter was dated July 22, 1535, and concluded by asking Ferdinand's help to force some sort of justice upon the King of England for such sacrilegious killing of a Roman cardinal. Four days later a similarly indignant letter was sent by the Pope to the King of France. But although the Pope urged all the Christian kings of Europe to unite to fight against Henry and thus save England for the Catholic faith, the kings were too interested in their own petty squabbles to heed the Pope.

The indignation aroused in Italy and France and Spain against Henry and England for the executions of Fisher and More worried Henry, however, and he issued a manifesto to all Christendom, stating that he owed no account of his actions except to God, that the men had been disappointed at the King's success in affairs and had therefore maliciously abused the kindness of their sovereign, that both Fisher and More had spoken against the laws of England, had denied the titles of the King, and had to be executed for the sake of good government in England. The document was issued from the King's Palace at Brumham in September, 1535.

But this manifesto brought a reply, a biting, burning, stinging reply from the King's own relative, Reginald

Pole, later to be made a cardinal, who publicly challenged Henry in these words:

Is it possible? Could you slay men like these, who by your own judgment in former days, and by the judgment of all, were held in the highest esteem for innocence, virtue, and learning, and that for no other reason than that they would not violate their consciences by assenting to your impious laws? Had you no care for your own judgment, no care for the judgment of other men, to say nothing of the judgment of God, though you knew that their memory would be loved and venerated by all good men forever? Could you slay Fisher? Could you slay More? Could you conceive such a crime, and bring on yourself such a disgrace? I was not present, but when I think of it, it is like a dreadful nightmare, and those who tell me of it seem to be relating dreams. Why, Nero and Domitian, though sworn enemies of the Christian name, had they known these men as you knew them, could not have been so cruel toward them. And I am bold to swear that Luther himself, had he been King in England in your place, though these two men were his direst adversaries, would not have conceived the thought of avenging himself in such a way. What great evil had they done you, these men who never injured you in word or deed? They refused to subscribe to your impious decree. But what if they refused; was not perpetual imprisonment penalty enough, which already you had inflicted on them, so that, when you dragged them forth to death, they had already for fifteen months endured the squalor of their prison? O God, a torment like this inflicted on such men, for no fault whatever but for their splendid deeds, would have satisfied abundantly the cruelty of the greatest barbarian; but yours it did not satisfy. From their prison you dragged them out, like dead enemies



View of Cambridge University, from Castle Hill.
From a sketch drawn in 1841.

from their tombs, to feed your fierce and cruel will on the butchery of their bodies.

And to the faithful of England, Pole directed another letter which read in part as follows:

The disputes that the conduct of Henry has aroused in England have brought everything into doubt; men know not what to believe, which side to take. How can we know, they ask, when clever men, learned men, and, as far as we can see, good men, take opposite sides? Would you not then, if you could, send ambassadors to Jesus Christ to ask Him to decide? But, you say, this is not serious. Cities of Greece could send ambassadors to consult the oracle, but Christ is in heaven. Nay, but listen: supposing that you could send an embassy, whom would you send? Not priests only, but priests and laymen—at least one of each class. Now, had you to choose among all the priests and bishops in England, would there have been any hesitation? Would not all by acclamation have selected the Bishop of Rochester? What other have you or have you had for centuries, to compare with Rochester in holiness, in learning, in prudence, and in episcopal zeal? You may be, indeed, proud of him; for, were you to search through all the nations of Christendom in our days, you would not easily find one who was such a model of episcopal virtues. If you doubt of this, consult your merchants who have traveled in many lands; consult your ambassadors; and let them tell you whether they have anywhere heard of any bishop who has such a love of his own flock as never to leave the care of it, ever feeding it by word and example; against whose life not even a rash word could be spoken; one who was conspicuous not only for holiness and learning, but for love of country. . . . Do you seek a

colleague worthy of such a man—a layman of great learning and sanctity, but without superstition or weakness; a man acquainted with public affairs and with men? Again there will be no hesitation. More is that man. Brought up amongst clever men, learned, incorrupt, holy, familiar with matters of state, loving his country, there is no one else in whom all such qualities are united, at least in such a degree.

Well, would you not send these on your embassy? But, see, of their own accord, before you thought of it, they have undertaken the task and have brought back the answer from Christ. Both of them by their learned writings have told you what to think of the disputes of our days. And now, lest you should doubt whether they really speak in Christ's name, He has set the same seal on them that He gave to Himself and His Apostles. He allowed Satan to open the gates of hell against them and to try them to the utmost, and He gave them strength in the sight of the whole Church, of men and of angels, to undergo a contest and win a crown, than which none more glorious has been won since the days of the Apostles.

What! My country, were you not a spectator of this, when every deceit was practised, every snare was spread—on one side the favor of the Prince, power, honor, and whatever is delightful to men, and on the other side prison, torment, infamy, and death, or, rather, deaths? From these two gates all the armies of Satan issued forth and assaulted these two soldiers of Christ to drive them from the citadel of truth. You saw this, my country; you saw not only that they did not faint for fear, nor were driven from the battlements, but, on the contrary, the enemy was repulsed, his war-machines were broken, and they remained more constant than ever in the possession of the truth. You beheld this, and did you not admire? Did you not gather from your admiration how true

was their doctrine, how agreeable to the will of Christ? It was not mere death that they encountered with constancy, as even criminals may sometimes do, but they chose it in preference to the favor of the King, to riches and power and honor. This they could not have done without the assistance of Him who gave victory to the martyrs and Apostles.

Thus the glorious era of Catholic England came to an end. Yet in a sense it did not end. A great nation withdrew from Christian unity, and the schism soon became heresy. But the valiant steadfastness of John Fisher and Thomas More became a precious Catholic heritage, inspiring others with the fortitude to hold fast to their faith. In time a new Catholic England sprang up, less numerous than the old, but more profoundly united to the center of Christian unity, the vicar of Christ. Four centuries ago England witnessed the grievous defection of a royal Defender of the Faith. Today she is witnessing the heartening loyalty of numerous defenders of the faith in that land so dear to the hearts of St. John Fisher and St. Thomas More.

INDEX

- Acts of Parliament; *see* Parliament
 Admonition of heretics, St. Paul on, 87
 Adrian IV (English Pope), 39
 Adrian VI (Pope): death of, 110; election of, 99
 Albrecht of Brandenburg, Rebellion of, 62
 Alehouses: Catherine not to be mentioned in, 22; laughter at Wolsey in, 105; Wolsey's complaint about, 104
 Allegiance of Henry VIII to the Holy See, 83
 Andre (Friar Bernard), King's book suggested by, 79
 Aracaeli (Cardinal), outrageous treatment of, 119
 Aragon; *see* Catherine of Aragon
 Arthur (Prince of Wales): death of, 20; description of, 19; letter to Spanish sovereigns, 20; marriage to Catherine, 19
Assertio septem sacramentorum, by Henry VIII, 84
 Audley (speaker of the Commons): condemnation of Fisher by, 249; naming of, 180
 Autumn in England, 1, 57, 77, 198
 Badoer, Venetian ambassador, 45
 Bailey (Robert), Wolsey's life threatened by, 146
 Bainbridge (Cardinal), murder of, 56
 Barton, Elizabeth; *see* Maid of Kent
 Beaufort (Cardinal), 39
 Beaufort, Lady Margaret: death of, 45; dread of Wolsey, 56; foundress of colleges, 24; patroness of Fisher, 15
 Bedyll (Thomas), heretical arguments of, 230
 Bell (Dr. John), King's proctor at divorce, 126
 Bell Tower, description of, 222
 Benefices, system at Roman Court, 89
 Bereans, 87
 Bernard (St.), sermon against heresy, 53
 Bibiena (Cardinal), legate to France, 64
 Bishops: as judges, 91; except in England, all are with Fisher, 248; Fisher's difference from other, 27; soldiers dressed as, 119; yield to Henry VIII, 185
 Blackfriars' Hall (London): altercation between Fisher and Wolsey at, 175; divorce trial at, 159; meeting of King and legates at, 149; plea by Thomas More at, 103
 Blessed Virgin: devotion to, 44; Feast of the Annunciation, 124; repair of Fisher's statue of, 113; shrine at St. Paul's, 50
 Boleyn (Anne)
 Banishment of lovers from, 122
 Called adulteress by Pope Paul III, 260
 Crowned queen, 196
 Daughter born of, 211
 Description of, 122

- Boleyn (Anne) (*continued*)
 First appearance at English Court, 121
 Last blow by Fisher against, 258
 Premature pregnancy of, 194
 Rage against the Pope, 239
 Suspicious of Wolsey by, 156
 Sweating-sickness contracted by, 147
 Boleyn (Sir Thomas), scheming of, 177
 Bourbon, Duke of: death of, 119; plot against Francis I by, 102; sack of Rome by, 119
 Breakspear (Nicholas); *see* Adrian IV

 Cain, the way of, 51
 Cajetan (Cardinal), trial of Luther by, 80
 Cambridge University: early status of, 5; revolt against Wolsey by, 116; the "second," 36
 Campeggio (Cardinal)
 Baggage searched by English, 178
 Conference with Fisher, 151
 Delay in coming to divorce trial, 147
 Destined as legate to England, 63
 Journey begun by, 148
 Rebuff of Henry VIII, 65
 Reception in England, 66
 Thanks to God for safety, 178
 Canon law, Wolsey's appeal to, 73
 Canterbury, Archbishop of
 Anne Boleyn crowned by, 196
 Clash with Wolsey, 106
 Consecration of Cranmer as, 194
 Deceived by Wolsey, 128
 Defense of Colet by, 54
 Henry destined to become, 20
 Objections to Henry's marriage by, 45
 Papal Nuncio directed to, 182
 Place at divorce trial, 159
 Rebuke by Fisher, 163

 Cardinal: explanation of term, 60; judgment of each, 173
 Casale (John), talks with Clement VII, 154
 Casale (Sir Gregory), protest to Paul III by, 237
 Castle of St. Angelo: as haven, 118; Pope's escape from, 138
 Catherine of Aragon
 Betrothal to Arthur, 17
 Betrothal to Henry, 22
 Courage against legates, 152
 Daughter of, declared illegitimate, 211
 Description of, as girl, 17 f.
 Emperor's espousal of cause of, 158
 Henry's dissatisfaction with, 134
 Marriage to Arthur, 19
 Plea in court to Henry VIII, 160
 Praised by Henry, 161
 Protests against jurisdiction of the court, 159
 Rebuke to legates by, 177
 Wrath against Wolsey, 134
 Charles V (Emperor)
 Arrival in England, 101
 Birth of, 93
 Captures Francis I, 114
 Desire for Wolsey's aid, 95
 Election of, 93
 Entertained by Fisher, 101
 Espousal of Catherine's cause, 158
 Papal dispensation in hands of, 174
 Presides at Diet of Worms, 93
 Charles of Hapsburg; *see* Charles V
 Christ
 Ambassadors of, 263
 Body of, 44
 Church as spouse of, 51
 Colet's prayer to, 16
 College built in honor of, 24 f.
 Commemoration of death of, 124
 Divine Commander, 9
 Division of jurisdiction by, 186

- Christ (*continued*)
 Enemies of, 71
 Fisher as another, 32
 Fisher's consolation in words of, 255
 Lady Margaret's faith in, 45
 Last Judge, 161
 Miracles and words of, 88
 Priesthood of, 187
 Prince of Peace, 111
 Saving power of, 196
 Stranger as, 36
 Teaching in the name of, 38
 Wicked lives opposed to, 53
 Words of, as Savior, 60
- Christmas: Fisher wishes a Merry Christmas to Cromwell, 224; Fisher's observance of, 124 f.; sermon of Fisher on, 111
- Christ's College, endowment and erection of, 24-30
- Church
 As Spouse of Christ, 51
 Bedyll's argument concerning, 230
 Call for last rites of, 146
 Freedom from evil, 181
 Immunity from the state, 182
 Price of allegiance to, 197
 Sermon for good of, 52
 Supreme head of, 186
 Waste of property of, 70
 What destroys the, 54
 Will overcome all opposition, 89
- Clarke (Dr. John), delivers King's book, 80
- Clement VII (Pope)
 Agreement with Julius II, 155
 Anger against Wolsey, 154
 As cardinal in conclave, 97-99
 As prisoner, 136
 Death of, 221
 Election as Pope, 110
 Escapes in disguise, 137
 Opinion of the Emperor by, 114
 Sickness of, 157
 Witticisms of, 143, 157
- Clergy: called "half-Englishmen," 193; pardon of, 186; submission of, 192
- Colet (John)
 Charge of heresy against, 54
 Deacon at Fisher's mass, 17
 Dean of St. Paul's, 24
 Death of, 76
 Different from Fisher, 25 f.
 Doctor of Divinity, 25
 Erasmus' opinion of, 77
 Friend of Fisher, 9
 Master of Arts, 9
 Sermon at Convocation (1512), 50
 Sermon for Cardinal Wolsey, 60
- Colonna (Cardinal): at conclave, 97; treachery of, 117
- Conclave; *see* Papal election
- Conscience: of Campeggio, 158; Catherine appeals to Henry's, 160; of Pope Clement, 154
- Corruption in England, 9
- Counselors at divorce trial, 159
- Cranmer; *see* Canterbury, Archbishop of
- Cromwell (Thomas): Chapuy's opinion of, 230; Fisher's letters to, 200, 223; King's Secretary, 193; political corruption of, 200
- Crucifix: at death of Henry VII, 44; as symbol of piety, 61
- Cyprian, Colet's study of, 10
- De captivitate babylonica*, by Luther, 80
- Death skull, kept by Fisher, 35
- Defender of the Faith: Court jester's opinion of title of, 83; Henry receives title of, 81
- Devil, as Luther's guide, 90
- Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, by More, 226
- Dionysius, Colet's study of, 10
- Dispensation (for Catherine's marriage): declared bona fide by

- Dispensation (*continued*)
 Clement VII, 157; Fisher's approval of, 132; granted by Julius II, 40; Spanish application for, 23
- Divorce, suits for: open, 146; secret, 126
- Dowry: of Catherine for Arthur, 19; of Catherine for Henry, 22; necessity for marriage, 41; promised by Ferdinand II, 43
- Du Bellay (French ambassador): on Fisher, 167; on Henry VIII, 147
- Easton (Cardinal), 39
- Eck (John): at Diet of Worms, 94; refutes Luther at Leipsic, 74
- Elna (Bishop of), testimony against Wolsey, 96
- Endowments of Cambridge colleges, 24
- Estrada, Duke of, 22
- Erasmus
 Attendance at Cambridge, 27
 Colet's first acquaintance with, 13
 Condemns evil priests, 74
 On Fisher, 33
 Rebukes Luther, 76
 Refers to Fisher's house, 34
- Excommunication: Henry under ban of, 221; of Luther by Leo X, 80
- Expulsion of University teachers, 32
- Farnese (Cardinal): house sacked, 99; *see also* Paul III
- Ferdinand II (King of Spain): letter for Catherine's dispensation, 23; letter to ambassador at London, 42; letter to Henry VIII, 41
- Fisher, Agnes (mother of Bishop Fisher), description of, 1
- Fisher (John)
 Accessible to all, 32
 Altercation with Wolsey, 175
- Fisher (John) (*continued*)
 Appetite of, 252
 Attainted with misprision of treason, 199
 Attempted poisoning of, 187
 Attempts at subversion of, 230
 Awaits his execution, 234
 Birth of, 2
 Bishop, 26 f.
 Boyhood of, 3
 Burial of, 259
 Cardinal, 237
 And Catherine's divorce trial, 152
 Chancellor of Cambridge University, 24
 Charles V entertained by, 101
 Christmas observance by, 125
 Comforter of the afflicted, 35
 Comments on Henry's speech, 168
 Condemned by Cromwell, 200
 Conference with Campeggio, 151
 Confiscation of goods of, 220
 Counselors of the King rebuked by, 185
 Death of, 257
 Deceived by Wolsey, 131
 Decision to become a priest, 13 f.
Defence of the Assertions of the King of England against Luther's Babylonian Captivity, by, 85
Defence of the Sacred Priesthood against Luther, by, 73
 Defense of, 247
 Defense of the Church by, 180
 Denies King's right to ecclesiastical supremacy, 183
 Description of, 4, 123
 Desire to visit Rome, 69
 Difference between Colet and, 25 f.
 Doctor of Divinity, 17
 Episcopal consecration of, 24
 Erasmus defended by, 76
 Esteem for writings of, 238
 Eulogy of Henry VII by, 43
 Eulogy of Lady Beaufort by, 45

Fisher (John) (*continued*)

- Family of, 3
- Father of widows and orphans, 36
- A follower of John the Baptist, 166
- Foundations by, 28
- Friend of the poor, 36
- Good shepherd, 33
- Grief at Colet's death, 77
- Hair shirt worn by, 37
- Hears of Adrian VI's election, 99
- Hears of sack of Rome, 120
- Knowledge of languages, 4 f.
- Labors during plague, 146
- Last meeting with More, 216
- Last physical ailments of, 249
- Last reading by, 255
- Last solemn mass by, 214
- Last words of, 256 f.
- Lectureships founded by, 20
- Letters: from professors at St. John's College, 229; to Cromwell, 200, 223; to Henry VIII, 202; to House of Lords, 205; written in prison, 223
- Lutheranae assertionis confutatio*, by, 85
- Luther's doctrine, 62, 83, 86-90
- Manner of observing Christmas, 125
- Martyrdom of, 257
- Masses in atonement by, 118
- Meals of, 37
- Meets the fellows of St. John's, 216
- Midnight prayers, 37
- A model for priests, 192
- And More compared, 109
- More's praise of, 91
- In opposition to Henry's tax, 106; to Henry's war plans, 102; to new war, 115
- Order to burn books of, 231
- Outrages on body of, 258
- Paul III on, 222, 259
- Pole (Cardinal) on, 262 f.
- Popular veneration of, 258

Fisher (John) (*continued*)

- Prelates rebuked by, 185
- Professor, 20
- Prophecy concerning, 239
- Protests against robbing the poor, 107
- Provides for his servants, 215
- Quotations from *The Imitation of Christ*, 6-8
- Rebukes Archbishop Warham, 163
- Refuses to take the King's oath, 214
- Repairs of palace and cathedral by, 113
- Retiring nature of, 9
- Saved by his conscience, 201
- School record of, 4 f.
- Sentenced, 249
- Sermon for peace by, 111
- A Spiritual Consolation*, by, 226
- Startles England, 165
- Student habits of, 4
- Sufferings in prison, 225
- Sympathy for Henry, 254
- Talk with Wolsey about the divorce, 128
- On trial for treason, 242
- Uses Henry's book against him, 144
- Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, 17
- View of Anne Boleyn's influence, 138
- The Ways of Perfect Religion*, by, 226
- And Wolsey contrasted, 124
- Wolsey upbraided by, 70
- Words of, concerning red hat, 239 f.
- Writings while in prison, 226
- Fisher (Robert), father of Bishop Fisher, 2
- Florence: De' Medici house at, 10; Savonarola at, 10; University of, 5
- Following of Christ*, Fisher's quotations from the, 6-8

- Foxe (Bishop of Winchester), opposes the King's tax, 106
- Francis I (King of France)
- Accession of, 58
 - Anne Boleyn trained under, 122
 - Bid for the Empire, 93
 - Discovery of Bourbon's plot, 109
 - On Fisher, 239
 - Paul III's mention of, 237
 - Prisoner of Emperor Charles, 114
 - Treaty against England, 156
- Free schools, hospitals, orphanages, 62
- Free will, Luther's denial of, 63
- Fuggers (bankers), 73
- Gaguinus, 13
- Gamaliel, quotation from, 89
- George (Elizabeth), letter to son of, 229
- Giglis (Italian bishop of Worcester), 59
- God
- Cardinals answerable to, 173
 - Catherine commits her cause to, 161
 - Fisher's martyrdom for, 257
 - The Father, 53
 - Glorification of, 70
 - Glory of, 38
 - Henry's defiance of, 168
 - Henry's wife received from, 144
 - Maker of men and worlds, 39
 - Marriage joined by, 175
 - More's motto regarding, 193
 - Preservation of the law of, 153
 - St. Paul on the will of, 51
 - Whether spirits are of, 87
 - Wicked lives opposed to, 53
 - Wolsey, the detestation of, 90
- Grimani (Cardinal), carried out of conclave, 98
- Grocyn, 10
- Groote, author of *The Imitation of Christ*, 6
- Hadrian (Cardinal), foe of Wolsey, 65
- Hampton Court, description of, 59
- Head of the Church in England, 214
- Henry VII (King of England)
- And Catherine's dowry, 19
 - College foundations by, 30
 - Counsels of, 41
 - Death of, 41
 - Letter to Spanish sovereigns, 18
 - Mercenary mind of, 17
- Henry VIII (King of England)
- Anne Boleyn's illness, 147
 - As Duke, description of, 18
 - Assertio septem sacramentorum*, by, 81
 - Attacked by Luther, 84
 - Betrothed to Catherine, 22
 - Bids for the Empire, 93
 - Called into court, 160
 - Catherine praised by, 161
 - Claims authority over priests, 187
 - Condemned: by Francis I, 239; by himself, 228
 - Daughter declared illegitimate, 211
 - Defender of the Faith, 81
 - Education of, 20
 - Fisher denies claims of, 250
 - Fisher's comment on speech of, 168
 - Fisher's letter to, 202
 - Fisher's sympathy for, 254
 - Full title of, 243
 - Legate snubbed by, 65
 - Marriage to Catherine, 45
 - Praised by ambassadors, 45
 - Priests' new allegiance to, 213
 - Rebuked by Fisher, 180
 - Secret suit for divorce, 126
 - Seeks separation from Catherine, 134
 - Under Wolsey's instructions, 149
 - War commission withdrawn by, 116
 - Worries over having no son, 121
 - Wrath extended to Fisher's body, 257

Heresy

The Anglican, 265

Colet charged with, 54

Condemned: by Elizabeth

George, 229; by the Emperor,

94; by Henry VIII, 83

Luther's, 73; refuted, 86-90

The two kinds of, 54

Holiness: evidences of, 61; tribute to, 24

Holy Ghost, the: Fisher's prayers to, 65; instructions of, 87; the judgment of, 87; resides in the Church, 88

Host, profanation of the, 118

Humanism, the rise of, 10

Hymns: *Te Deum*, 60; *Veni Creator*, 98

In Te Domine speravi, 257

Indignatio principis mors est, 222

Indulgences, preaching of the, 62

Isabella (Queen of Spain): Consolation of, 39; death of, 40; repudiates Henry VII's intentions, 22

Jerome (St.), Colet's study of, 10

Jesus Christ; *see* Christ

Juana (Queen of Naples), 22: mother of the Emperor, 93

Jude (Apostle), prophecy of, 51

Julian bull against simony, 98

King's College, 24

Knight (secretary of Henry VIII): goes to Orvieto, 139; seeks annulment of Henry's marriage, 137

Knight Commander of Membrilla, letter to, 42

Langton (Cardinal), 39

Lee (Rowland), Anglican consecration of, 213

Leo X (Pope): as cardinal, 11; as pope, 57; death of, 96; Henry's book liked by, 81

Linacre, Colet's mention of, 10

Louis XII (King of France), 58

Louvain University: Fisher remembered by, 259; peace plea of Vives at, 112; Pope Adrian VI of, 100; prestige of, 5

Loyola (Ignatius), as page in Spanish court, 42

Luther

De captivitate babylonica, by, 80

At Diet of Worms, 93

Doctrine of, 62

New Testament, translated by, 95

Rebuffed by Erasmus, 76

Reply to Henry VIII, 84

On Wolsey, 90

Lutheranae assertionis confutatio, by Fisher, 85

Maçon (Bishop of), letter about Cardinal Fisher, 238

Maid of Kent: attainted of treason, 199; description of, 197; revelations of, 198

Mary (daughter of Henry VIII), declared illegitimate, 211

Mass: Fisher's, at Christmas, 125; Luther's condemnation of, 74; of the Presanctified, 124

Masses: Fisher's, for peace, 111; Fisher's, of atonement, 118; Fisher's provision for, 25; a month of, for Colet, 77

Maximilian I, 93

Medici, De' (family), 10: coat of arms of, 10

Medici (Giovanni de'); *see* Leo X

Medici (Giulio de'); *see* Clement VII

Medici (Lorenzo de'), 10: letter to his son, 11 f.

Mendoza (Spanish ambassador), letter of, 132

Michaelmas term (1496), at Oxford, 9

Milan University, prestige of, 5

- Moncada (Hugo de), treachery of, 117
- More, Thomas
 Address of welcome to Campeggio, 67
 Awaiting his execution, 234
 Barrister, 10
 Burial of, 259
 Choir singer, 193
 Comment on Head of the Church, 231
 Comment on Parliament, 219
 Contact with Fisher and Colet, 10 ff.
 Defies Wolsey, 105
 Dismayed at the clergy's conceding Henry's title, 187
 On the fallibility of the Church fathers, 75
 And Fisher compared, 109
 And his beads, 236
 Last meeting with Fisher, 216
 And the Maid of Kent, 199, 209
 Martyrdom of, 259
 Motto of, 193
 Pole's tribute to, 262 f.
 Refuses the King's oath, 214, 218
 Reply: to Luther, 91; to Norfolk, 222
 Resigns the chancellorship, 195
 Retort to Wolsey, 108
 Writings in prison, 226
- Morton (Cardinal): great man of England, 39; patron of More, 10
- New Testament, Luther's German translation of, 95
- Obedience: Churches withdrew from, 86; due to princes, 186; of Henry to the Pope, 83; to the Pope, forbidden by Parliament, 195
- Obstinacy, Fisher charged with, 248
- Orvieto, Clement VII's court at, 138
- Oxford University, early status of, 5, 9
- Pace (English ambassador), 77, 96
- Papal election: of Adrian VI, 97-99; of Clement VII, 110
- Paris University, prestige of, 5
- Parliament
 Bill against Fisher and More, 210
 Catherine's marriage voided by, 195
 Dissolved by Wolsey, 61
 Fisher's letter to, 205
 Oath of supremacy, 213
 Priests condemned by, 192
 Prohibits obedience to the Pope, 195
 Recalled, 103
- Passion plays of the Middle Ages, 62
- Paul, St.: example of, 49; prediction by, 89; words of, 51, 83
- Paul III (Pope): election of, 221; on Fisher and More, 49, 222; Fisher created cardinal by, 237
- Percy (Lord Henry), banished by Wolsey, 122
- Peter, St., example of, 49
- Philippe le Beau (Archduke of Austria), 93
- Phillips (Rowland), subservience of, 106
- Platonic Academy, 10
- Pole (Cardinal Reginald): concerning Fisher's journey, 215; letter to England about Fisher, 263; letter to Henry about Fisher, 262
- Popes: Erasmus' respect for, 76; Jerome's allegiance to, 82; Luther's attitude toward, 88; More on the deposing power of, 91; Unimportance of wicked, 90
- Prayer
Ave Maria, 77
 By Fisher for Parliament, 209
 By Fisher for the King, 205

- Prayer (*continued*)
 Fisher's belief in, 21, 35
 Fisher's midnight, 37
Gloria, 77
 Mass, the greatest, 34
Pater Noster, 77
Te Deum, 257
- Prelates
 At Campeggio's reception, 67
 Excesses of, 71
 Luther's charges against, 73
 Proper use of their revenue, 54
 Thieving, 9
 Wolsey's admission of evils of, 128
- Pride: King's, 79; source of sin, 51
- Priesthood
 Coler's sermon on the, 16
 Fisher's decision to enter the, 13
 Fisher's love for duties of the, 31
 Fisher's thoughts of the, 4, 7 f.
The Imitation of Christ on the, 6
 Luther's condemnation of the, 74
- Priests
 Ambassadors of Christ, 8
 Better education of, 28
 Coler's remarks to Fisher on, 13
 Degeneration of the, 7
 Delicate fare of, 70
 Evils among, 51
 Example of Fisher for, 192
 Fisher wants good, 15
 Mighty pillars, 14
 Ministers of God, 38
 Parliament's condemnation of, 179
 True Christianity among, 48
- Purity: of angels, 7; in the priest, 6
- Pyx, used at Oxford and Cambridge, 31
- Quantum per legem Dei licet*, 185
Quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet, 175
- Red hat: Fisher's, 240; Wolsey's, 58 f.
- Reply to Luther, by More, 91
 Reply to the *Assertio* of Henry VIII, by Luther, 84
 Reuchlin, Erasmus' letter to, 33
 Revelations of Maid of Kent, 199
 Rich, testimony of: against Fisher, 244; against More, 251
 Richard the Lionhearted, 39
 Ridley, Wolsey reprimanded by, 175
 Rochester, description of, 26, 33, 34
 Rome: Bourbon's sack of, 119; imperial sack of, 117; Lorenzo de' Medici's opinion of, 12; no English appeal allowed to, 194
 Roose (Richard), attempts to poison Fisher, 188
 Royalty: marital needs of, 22; patronage of, 17
 Ruthal (Bishop), 59
- Sacraments: Henry VII's devotion to the, 43; Lady Margaret's devotion to the, 46; Luther's attacks on the, 80; proper administration of the, 186
- Sacrileges: by Bourbon's troops, 119; by imperial troops, 118; by William of Nassau, 120
- St. John's College, endowment and erection of, 24-30
- St. Patrick's Day Crusade, 64
- St. Paul's (church, London): convocation (1512) at, 50; convocation (1523) at, 106; marriage of Arthur and Catherine at, 19
- St. Quatuor (Cardinal), Roman canonist: disapproves Henry's application, 139; rejects Wolsey's commission, 143
- Saints of the Middle Ages, 61
- Sampson (ambassador), 114: Queen deceived by, 132
- Segismund (Mantuan ambassador), 181
- Sermons
 Eulogy of Henry VII, 43

Sermons (*continued*)

- Eulogy of Lady Margaret, 45
- Of Fisher against Wolsey, 70
- Of Fisher at Christmas, 125
- Fisher's Commentaries on the Psalms, 48
- Fisher's preparation of, 32
- On the priesthood by Colet, 16
- At St. Paul's by Colet, 50
- For Wolsey by Colet, 60
- Sherborn (Dean of St. Paul's), 24
- Simony in sixteenth-century Europe, 7
- Skelton (Henry's tutor), 20
- Society of Jesus, 42
- Son, Henry's grief at having no, 121, 141
- A Spiritual Consolation*, by Fisher, 226
- Suffolk, Duke of, marches on Paris, 110
- Sweating-sickness: Arthur dies of, 20; English plague of, 146; Wolsey's fear of, 68
- Tarbes, Bishop of, questions Catherine's marriage, 129
- Taylor, Henry's henchman, 68
- Tetzel, Dominican preacher of indulgences, 62
- Thomas à Becket (St.), 39
- Treason: Parliament on high, 234; those attainted of, 199
- Trinity, Colet's reference to the, 60
- Turkish invasion of Europe, 64, 117
- Unity, the Church fathers' desire for, 87
- Validity of Catherine's marriage questioned: by Bishop of Tarbes, 129; by King's procurator, 126
- Varmes, on Catherine's rights, 157
- Venality in Europe, 7
- Vergil (Dean of Wells), testimony of, 107
- Virginity: Catherine maintains her, 19; Ferdinand's reference to Catherine's, 23
- Vives (humanist of Louvain): as counselor to Queen Catherine, 152; peace plea of, 112
- Walsingham (Sir Edmund), 252
- Warham; *see* Canterbury, Archbishop of
- The Ways of Perfect Religion*, by Fisher, 226
- Westminster Abbey, 59
- Whitehall, meeting of Wolsey and More at, 108
- William of Nassau, at sack of Rome, 120
- Wolman, promoter of the marriage bond, 107
- Wolsey (Thomas)
 - Altercation with Fisher, 175
 - Amusing document by, 142
 - Anne Boleyn-rebuffs, 137
 - Bishop of Elna on, 96
 - Candidate in papal conclave, 99
 - Cardinal, 58
 - Catherine wishes to have him deprived of legatine authority, 134
 - Chancellor of England, 61
 - Charges against, read by More, 177
 - Colleges erected by, 30
 - Commercial war of, 145
 - Cursed by the people, 116
 - Dazzling offers to, 136
 - Death of, 177
 - Demands upon Emperor Charles by, 95
 - Description of, 107
 - Desires to be legate, 63
 - In disfavor with the King, 177
 - In disfavor with the people, 135
 - Dispatch from Clarke to, 115
 - Displeasure at More, 108
 - Evil life of, 73
 - First talk with Fisher about the divorce, 128

Wolsey (Thomas) (*continued*)

- And Fisher contrasted, 24
- Fisher deceived by, 131
- Fisher upbraids, 70
- Foresees his downfall, 135
- Found guilty of praemunire, 177
- And freedom of papal elections, 97
- Frightened by Fisher and Vives, 152
- Henry VIII chafes, 176
- Luther defended by, 150
- Luther's opinion of, 90
- More defies, 105
- Patron of art, 30

Wolsey (Thomas) (*continued*)

- People feared by, 32
- People's judgment of, 178
- Plans for French war, 103
- Prelates' suspicions of, 165
- Progress after ordination, 56
- Rages against Adrian VI, 101
- Ridley reprimands, 175
- At secret suit for the divorce, 126
- Statesman, 58
- Suppresses monasteries, 116
- Synod called by, 69
- Threats on life of, 146
- Wrath against Fisher, 175
- Worms, Diet of, activities at, 93 f.

Barcode for library tracking, with the text "Library-Speil Library" visible above it.

1 1012 01057 4442

[illegible]

#3523PI

Printed in USA

